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HENRY ST. JOHN,
LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

FROM A DUST BY RYKBRACK, IN THE POSSESSION OF COLONEL WYNDHAM.

LETTERS

OF HENRY STANHOPE

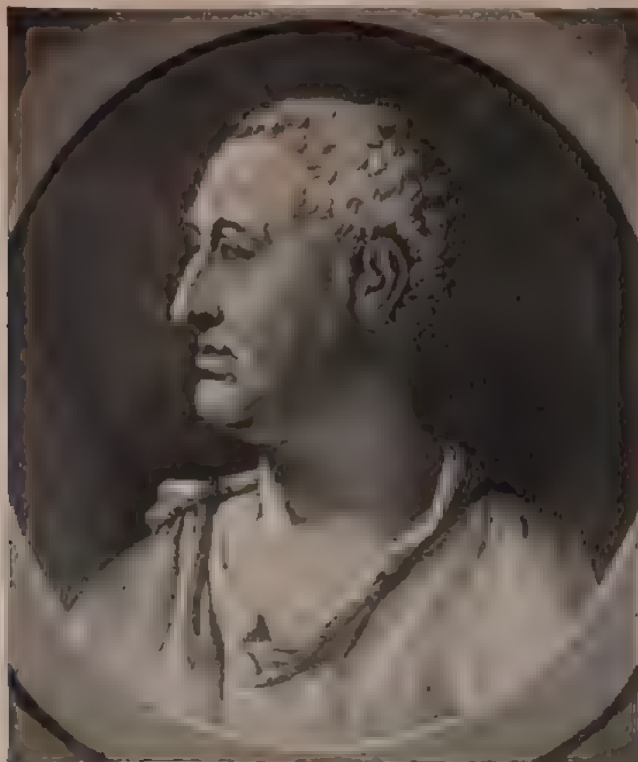
CHESTERFIELD:

INCLUDING

A NEW EDITION OF
THE LETTERS OF

TO NOTES,

BY MAHON.



HENRY ST. JOHN,
LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

FROM A BUST BY RYSBRACK, IN THE POSSESSION OF COLONEL MENDHAM

THE LETTERS
OF
PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE,
EARL OF CHESTERFIELD;
—
INCLUDING

NUMEROUS LETTERS NOW FIRST PUBLISHED
FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

EDITED, WITH NOTES,
BY LORD MAHON.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.
VOL. II.
(LETTERS ON EDUCATION, AND CHARACTERS.)

PHILADELPHIA:
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LORD CHESTERFIELD'S
LETTERS TO HIS SON, ON EDUCATION.

London, March 29, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU are now, I suppose, at Naples, in a new scene of *Virtù*, examining all the curiosities of Herculaneum, watching the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, and surveying the magnificent churches and public buildings by which Naples is distinguished. You have a Court there into the bargain, which, I hope, you frequent and attend to. Polite manners, a versatility of mind, a complaisance even to enemies, and the *volto sciolto*, with the *pensieri stretti*, are only to be learned at Courts; and must be well learned by whoever would either shine or thrive in them. Though they do not change the nature, they smooth and soften the manners of mankind. Vigilance, dexterity, and flexibility supply the place of natural force; and it is the ablest mind, not the strongest body, that prevails there. Monsieur and Madame Fogliani will, I am sure, show you all the politeness of Courts; for I know no better bred people than they are. Domesticate yourself there while you stay at Naples, and lay aside the English coldness and formality. You have also a letter to Comte Mahony, whose house I hope you frequent, as it is the resort of

the best company. His sister, Madame Bulkeley, is now here, and had I known of your going so soon to Naples, I would have got you, *ex abundanti*, a letter from her to her brother. The conversation of the moderns in the evening, is full as necessary for you, as that of the ancients in the morning.

You would do well, while you are at Naples, to read some very short history of that kingdom. It has had great variety of masters, and has occasioned many wars; the general history of which will enable you to ask many proper questions, and to receive useful informations in return. Inquire into the manner and form of that government; for constitution it has none, being an absolute one; but the most absolute governments have certain customs and forms, which are more or less observed by their respective tyrants. In China it is the fashion for the Emperors, absolute as they are, to govern with justice and equity; as in the other Oriental monarchies it is the custom to govern by violence and cruelty. The King of France, as absolute in fact, as any of them, is by custom only more gentle; for I know of no constitutional bar to his will. England is now the only monarchy in the world that can properly be said to have a constitution; for the people's rights and liberties are secured by laws. I cannot reckon Sweden and Poland to be monarchies, those two Kings having little more to say than the Doge of Venice. I do not presume to say anything of the constitution of the Empire to you, who are *jurisperitorum Germanicorum facile princeps*.

When you write to me, which, by the way, you do pretty seldom, tell me rather whom you see, than

what you see. Inform me of your evening transactions and acquaintances; where, and how you pass your evenings; what English people you meet with, and a hint of their characters; what people of learning you have made acquaintance with; and, if you will trust me with so important an affair, what *belle passion* inflames you. I interest myself most in what personally concerns you most; and this is a very critical year in your life. To talk like a virtuoso, your canvas is, I think, a good one, and *Raphael Harte* has drawn the outlines admirably; nothing is now wanting but the colouring of Titian, and the graces, the *morbidezza*, of Guido; but that is a great deal. You must get them soon, or you will never get them at all. *Per la lingua Italiana sono sicuro ch'ella n'è adesso professore, a segno tale ch'io non ardisca dirle altra cosa in quella lingua se non.—Addio.*

London, April 26, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

As your journey to Paris approaches, and as that period will, one way or another, be of infinite consequence to you, my letters will henceforwards be principally calculated for that meridian. You will be left there to your own discretion, instead of Mr. Harte's; and you will allow me, I am sure, to distrust a little the discretion of eighteen. You will find in the Academy a number of young fellows much less discreet than yourself. These will all be your acquaintances; but look about you first and inquire into their respective characters, before you form any connections among them; and *cæteris paribus*, single out those of

the most considerable rank and family. Show them a distinguishing attention ; by which means you will get into their respective houses, and keep the best company. All those French young fellows are excessively *étourdis* : be upon your guard against scrapes and quarrels : have no corporal pleasantries with them, no *jeux de main*, no *coups de chambrière*, which frequently bring on quarrels. Be as lively as they, if you please, but at the same time be a little wiser than they. As to letters, you will find most of them ignorant ; do not reproach them with that ignorance, nor make them feel your superiority. It is not their fault, they are all bred up for the army ; but, on the other hand, do not allow their ignorance and idleness to break in upon those morning hours which you may be able to allot to your serious studies. No breakfastings with them, which consume a great deal of time ; but tell them (not magisterially and sententiously) that you will read two or three hours in the morning, and that for the rest of the day you are very much at their service. Though, by the way, I hope you will keep wiser company in the evenings.

I must insist upon your never going to what is called the English coffee-house at Paris, which is the resort of all the scrub English, and also of the fugitive and attainted Scotch and Irish : party quarrels and drunken squabbles are very frequent there ; and I do not know a more degrading place in all Paris. Coffee-houses and taverns are by no means creditable at Paris. Be cautiously upon your guard against the infinite number of fine-dressed and fine-spoken *chevaliers d'industrie* and *aventuriers*, which swarm at Paris, and keep everybody civilly at arm's length, of

whose real character or rank you are not previously informed. Monsieur le Comte or Monsieur le Chevalier in a handsome laced coat, *et très bien mis*, accosts you at the play, or some other public place; he conceives at first sight an infinite regard for you, he sees that you are a stranger of the first distinction, he offers you his services, and wishes nothing more ardently than to contribute, as far as may be in his little power, to procure you *les agrémens de Paris*. He is acquainted with some ladies of condition, *qui préfèrent une petite société agréable, et des petits soupers aimables d'honnêtes gens, au tumulte et à la dissipation de Paris*; and he will, with the greatest pleasure imaginable, have the honour of introducing you to these ladies of quality. Well, if you were to accept of this kind offer, and go with him, you would find, *au troisième*, a handsome painted and p—— strumpet, in a tarnished silver or gold second-hand robe, playing a sham party at cards for *livres* with three or four sharpers, well-dressed enough, and dignified by the titles of Marquis, Comte, and Chevalier. The lady receives you in the most polite and gracious manner, and with all those *complimens de routine* which every French woman has equally. Though she loves retirement and shuns *le grand monde*, yet she confesses herself obliged to the Marquis for having procured her so inestimable, so accomplished an acquaintance as yourself; but her concern is how to amuse you, for she never suffers play at her house for above a *livre*; if you can amuse yourself with that low play till supper, *à la bonne heure*. Accordingly you sit down to that little play, at which the good company take care that you shall win fifteen or sixteen *livres*, which

gives them an opportunity of celebrating both your good luck and your good play. Supper comes up, and a good one it is, upon the strength of your being to pay for it. *La Marquise en fait les honneurs au mieux*, talks sentiments, *mœurs, et morale*; interlarded with *enjouement*, and accompanied with some oblique ogles, which bid you not despair in time. After supper, *pharaon, lanquenot, or quinze* happen accidentally to be mentioned; the Chevalier proposes playing at one of them for half-an-hour, the Marquise exclaims against it, and vows she will not suffer it, but is at last prevailed upon, by being assured *que ce ne sera que pour des riens*. Then the wished-for moment is come, the operation begins: you are cheated, at best, of all the money in your pocket, and if you stay late, very probably robbed of your watch and snuff-box; possibly murdered for greater security. This, I can assure you, is not an exaggerated, but a literal description of what happens every day to some raw and inexperienced stranger at Paris. Remember to receive all these civil gentlemen, who take such a fancy to you at first sight, very coldly, and take care always to be previously engaged, whatever party they propose to you.

You may happen sometimes, in very great and good companies, to meet with some dexterous gentlemen, who may be very desirous, and also very sure, to win your money if they can but engage you to play with them. Therefore, lay it down as an invariable rule never to play with men, but only with women of fashion, at low play, or with women and men mixed. But at the same time, whenever you are asked to play deeper than you would, do not refuse it gravely and sententiously, alleging the folly of staking what would

be very inconvenient for one to lose, against what one does not want to win : but parry those invitations ludicrously, *et en badinant*. Say that if you were sure to lose you might possibly play, but that as you may as well win, you dread *l'embarras des richesses* ever since you have seen what an incumbrance they were to poor Harlequin, and that therefore you are determined never to venture the winning above two Louis a-day : this sort of light trifling way of declining invitations to vice and folly, is more becoming your age, and at the same time more effectual than grave philosophical refusals. A young fellow who seems to have no will of his own, and who does everything that is asked of him, is called a very good-natured, but at the same time is thought a very silly, young fellow. Act wisely, upon solid principles and from true motives, but keep them to yourself, and never talk sententiously. When you are invited to drink, say you wish you could, but that so little makes you both drunk and sick, *que le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*.

Pray show great attention, and make your court to Monsieur de la Guérinière ;* he is well with Prince Charles,† and many people of the first distinction at Paris ; his commendations will raise your character there, not to mention that his favour will be of use to you in the Academy itself. For the reasons which I mentioned to you in my last, I would have you be

* François Robichon de la Guérinière. M. Weiss calls him, "l'un des hommes les plus habiles que la France ait produits dans l'art de soigner et de dresser les chevaux." He published two works on that subject : *L'Ecole de Cavalerie*, Paris, 1733, and *Les Eléments de Cavalerie*, Paris, 1740.

† Perhaps Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother-in-law of Maria Theresa.

interne in the Academy for the first six months; but after that, I promise you that you shall have lodgings of your own *dans un hôtel garni*, if in the mean time I hear well of you, and that you frequent, and are esteemed in, the best French companies. You want nothing now, thank God, but exterior advantages, that last polish, that *tournure du monde*, and those Graces which are so necessary to adorn and give efficacy to the most solid merit. They are only to be acquired in the best companies, and better in the best French companies than in any other. You will not want opportunities, for I shall send you letters that will establish you in the most distinguished companies, not only of the *beau monde*, but of the *beaux esprits* too. Dedicate, therefore, I beg of you, that whole year to your own advantage and final improvement, and do not be diverted from those objects by idle dissipations, low seduction, or bad example. After that year, do whatever you please; I will interfere no longer in your conduct. For I am sure both you and I shall be safe then. Adieu.

London, April 30, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

MR. HARTE, who in all his letters gives you some dash of panegyric, told me in his last a thing that pleases me extremely; which was, that at Rome you had constantly preferred the established Italian assemblies, to the English conventicles set up against them by dissenting English ladies. That shows sense, and that you know what you are sent abroad for. It is of much more consequence to know the *Mores*

multorum hominum than the *Urbes*. Pray continue this judicious conduct wherever you go, especially at Paris, where, instead of thirty, you will find above three hundred English herding together, and conversing with no one French body.

The life of *les Milords Anglois* is regularly, or if you will, irregularly, this. As soon as they rise, which is very late, they breakfast together, to the utter loss of two good morning hours. Then they go by coachfuls to the Palais, the Invalides, and Notre-Dame; from thence to the English coffee-house, where they make up their tavern party for dinner. From dinner, where they drink quick, they adjourn in clusters to the play, where they crowd up the stage, drest up in very fine clothes, very ill made by a Scotch or Irish tailor. From the play to the tavern again, where they get very drunk, and where they either quarrel among themselves, or sally forth, commit some riot in the streets, and are taken up by the watch. Those who do not speak French before they go, are sure to learn none there. Their tender vows are addressed to their Irish laundress, unless by chance some itinerant Englishwoman, eloped from her husband, or her creditors, defrauds her of them. Thus, they return home, more petulant, but not more informed, than when they left it; and show, as they think, their improvement, by affectedly both speaking and dressing in broken French.

Hunc tu Romane caveto.

Connect yourself, while you are in France, entirely with the French; improve yourself with the old, divert yourself with the young; conform cheerfully to

their customs, even to their little follies, but not to their vices. Do not however remonstrate or preach against them, for remonstrances do not suit with your age. In French companies in general, you will not find much learning, therefore take care not to brandish yours in their faces. People hate those who make them feel their own inferiority. Conceal all your learning carefully, and reserve it for the company of *les Gens d'Eglise*, or *les Gens de Robe*; and even then let them rather extort it from you, than find you overwilling to draw it. You are then thought, from that seeming unwillingness, to have still more knowledge than it may be you really have, and with the additional merit of modesty into the bargain. A man who talks of, or even hints at, his *bonnes fortunes*, is seldom believed, or if believed, much blamed: whereas a man who conceals with care is often supposed to have more than he has, and his reputation of discretion gets him others. It is just so with a man of learning; if he affects to show it, it is questioned, and he is reckoned only superficial; but if afterwards it appears that he really has it, he is pronounced a pedant. Real merit of any kind, *ubi est non potest diu celari*; it will be discovered, and nothing can depreciate it, but a man's exhibiting it himself. It may not always be rewarded as it ought; but it will always be known. You will in general find the women of the *beau monde* at Paris more instructed than the men, who are bred up singly for the army, and thrown into it at twelve or thirteen years old; but then that sort of education, which makes them ignorant of books, gives them a great knowledge of the world, an easy address, and polite manners.

Fashion is more tyrannical at Paris than in any other place in the world; it governs even more absolutely than their King, which is saying a great deal. The least revolt against it is punished by proscription. You must observe, and conform to all the *minuties* of it, if you will be in fashion there yourself; and if you are not in fashion, you are nobody. Get therefore, at all events, into the company of those men and women *qui donnent le ton*; and though at first you should be admitted upon that shining theatre only as a *persona muta*, persist, persevere, and you will soon have a part given you. Take great care never to tell in one company what you see or hear in another, much less to divert the present company at the expense of the last; but let discretion and secrecy be known parts of your character. They will carry you much farther, and much safer, than more shining talents. Be upon your guard against quarrels at Paris; honour is extremely nice there, though the asserting of it is exceedingly penal. Therefore *point de mauvaises plaisanteries, point de jeux de main, et point de raillerie piquante*.

Paris is the place in the world where, if you please, you may the best unite the *utile* and the *dulce*. Even your pleasures will be your improvements, if you take them with the people of the place, and in high life. From what you have hitherto done everywhere else, I have just reason to believe, that you will do everything you ought at Paris. Remember that it is your decisive moment; whatever you do there will be known to thousands here, and your character there, whatever it is, will get before you hither. You will meet with it at London. May you and I both have reason to rejoice at that meeting! Adieu.

London, May 8, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AT your age the love of pleasures is extremely natural, and the enjoyment of them not unbecoming; but the danger, at your age, is mistaking the object, and setting out wrong in the pursuit. The character of a man of pleasure dazzles young eyes; they do not see their way to it distinctly, and fall into vice and profligacy. I remember a strong instance of this a great many years ago. A young fellow, determined to shine as a man of pleasure, was at the play, called the *Libertine destroyed*, a translation of *le Festin de Pierre* of Molière's. He was so struck with what he thought the fine character of the *Libertine*, that he swore he would be the *Libertine destroyed*. Some friends asked him, whether he had not better content himself with being only the *Libertine*, without being *destroyed*? to which he answered with great warmth, "No, for that being *destroyed* was the perfection of "the whole." This, extravagant as it seems in this light, is really the case of many an unfortunate young fellow, who, captivated by the name of pleasures, rushes indiscriminately, and without taste, into them all, and is finally *destroyed*. I am not stoically advising, nor parsonically preaching to you, to be a Stoic at your age; far from it: I am pointing out to you the paths to pleasures, and am endeavouring only to quicken and heighten them for you. Enjoy pleasures, but let them be your own, and then you will taste them: but adopt none; trust to nature for genuine ones. The pleasures that you would feel, you must earn; the man who gives himself up to all, feels none sensibly. Sardanapalus, I am convinced,

never in his life felt any. Those only who join serious occupations with pleasures, feel either as they should do. Alcibiades, though addicted to the most shameful excesses, gave some time to philosophy, and some to business. Julius Cæsar joined business with pleasure so properly, that they mutually assisted each other; and, though he was the husband of all the wives at Rome, he found time to be one of the best scholars, almost the best orator, and absolutely the best general, there. An uninterrupted life of pleasures is as insipid as contemptible. Some hours given every day to serious business, must whet both the mind and the senses, to enjoy those of pleasure. A surfeited glutton, an emaciated sot, and an enervated, rotten w——master, never enjoy the pleasures to which they devote themselves; they are only so many human sacrifices to false gods. The pleasures of low life are all of this mistaken, merely sensual, and disgraceful nature; whereas those of high life, and in good company (though possibly in themselves not more moral), are more delicate, more refined, less dangerous, and less disgraceful; and, in the common course of things, not reckoned disgraceful at all. In short, pleasure must not, nay, cannot, be the business of a man of sense and character; but it may be, and is, his relief, his reward. It is particularly so with regard to the women, who have the utmost contempt for those men, that, having no character nor consideration with their own sex, frivolously pass their whole time in *ruelles*, and at *toilettes*. They look upon them as their lumber, and remove them whenever they can get better furniture. Women choose their favourites more by the ear than by any other of their senses, or even

their understandings. The man whom they hear the most commended by the men, will always be the best received by them. Such a conquest flatters their vanity, and vanity is their universal, if not their strongest passion. A distinguished shining character is irresistible with them; they crowd to, nay, they even quarrel for, the danger, in hopes of the triumph. Though by the way (to use a vulgar expression), she who conquers, only catches a tartar, and becomes the slave of her captive. *Mais c'est là leur affaire.* Divide your time between useful occupations and elegant pleasures. The morning seems to belong to study, business, or serious conversations with men of learning and figure; not that I exclude an occasional hour at a *toilette*. From sitting down to dinner, the proper business of the day is pleasure, unless real business, which must never be postponed for pleasure, happens accidentally to interfere. In good company, the pleasures of the table are always carried to a certain point of delicacy and gratification, but never to excess and riot. Plays, operas, balls, suppers, gay conversations in polite and cheerful companies, properly conclude the evenings; not to mention the tender looks that you may direct, and the sighs that you may offer, upon these several occasions, to some propitious or unpropitious female deity; whose character and manners will neither disgrace nor corrupt yours. This is the life of a man of real sense and pleasure; and by this distribution of your time, and choice of your pleasures, you will be equally qualified for the busy, or the *beau monde*. You see I am not rigid, and do not require that you and I should be of the same age. What I say to you, therefore, should have

the more weight, as coming from a friend, not a father. But, low company, and their low vices, their indecent riots, and profligacy, I never will bear, nor forgive.

I have lately received two volumes of Treatises, in German and Latin, from Hawkins, with your orders, under your own hand, to take care of them for you, which orders I shall most dutifully and punctually obey; and they wait for you in my library, together with your great collection of rare books, which your Mamma sent me upon removing from her old house.

I hope you not only keep up, but improve in your German, for it will be of great use to you when you come into business, and the more so, as you will be almost the only Englishman who either can speak or understand it. Pray speak it constantly to all Germans, wherever you meet them, and you will meet multitudes of them at Paris. Is Italian now become easy and familiar to you? Can you speak it with the same fluency that you can speak German? You cannot conceive what an advantage it will give you, in negotiations, to possess Italian, German, and French, perfectly, so as to understand all the force and *finesse* of those three languages. If two men of equal talents negotiate together, he who best understands the language in which the negotiation is carried on, will infallibly get the better of the other. The signification and force of one single word is often of great consequence in a treaty, and even in a letter.

Remember the *Graces*, for without them *ogni fatica è vana*. Adieu.

London, May 17, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR apprenticeship is near out, and you are soon to set up for yourself; that approaching moment is a critical one for you, and an anxious one for me. A tradesman who would succeed in his way must begin by establishing a character of integrity and good manners: without the former, nobody will go to his shop at all; without the latter, nobody will go there twice. This rule does not exclude the fair arts of trade. He may sell his goods at the best price he can within certain bounds. He may avail himself of the humour, the whims, and the fantastical tastes of his customers; but what he warrants to be good must be really so, what he seriously asserts must be true, or his first fraudulent profits will soon end in a bankruptcy. It is the same in higher life, and in the great business of the world. A man who does not solidly establish and really deserve a character of truth, probity, good manners, and good morals, at his first setting out in the world, may impose and shine like a meteor for a very short time, but will very soon vanish, and be extinguished with contempt. People easily pardon, in young men, the common irregularities of the senses; but they do not forgive the least vice of the heart. The heart never grows better by age; I fear rather worse, always harder. A young liar will be an old one, and a young knave will only be a greater knave as he grows older. But should a bad young heart, accompanied with a good head, (which, by the way, very seldom is the case,) really reform in a more advanced age from a consciousness of its folly, as well as of its guilt, such a conversion would only be thought

prudential and political, but never sincere. I hope in God, and I verily believe, that you want no moral virtue. But the possession of all the moral virtues, *in actu primo*, as the logicians call it, is not sufficient; you must have them in *actu secundo* too: nay, that is not sufficient neither; you must have the reputation of them also. Your character in the world must be built upon that solid foundation, or it will soon fall, and upon your head. You cannot, therefore, be too careful, too nice, too scrupulous, in establishing this character at first, upon which your whole depends. Let no conversation, no example, no fashion, no *bon mot*, no silly desire of seeming to be above, what most knaves and many fools call prejudices, ever tempt you to avow, excuse, extenuate, or laugh at the least breach of morality; but show upon all occasions, and take all occasions to show, a detestation and abhorrence of it. There, though young, you ought to be strict; and there only, while young, it becomes you to be strict and severe. But there too, spare the persons while you lash the crimes. All this relates, as you easily judge, to the vices of the heart, such as lying, fraud, envy, malice, detraction, &c.; and I do not extend it to the little frailties of youth, flowing from high spirits and warm blood. It would ill become you, at your age, to declaim against them, and sententiously censure a gallantry, an accidental excess of the table, a frolic, an inadvertency: no, keep as free from them yourself as you can, but say nothing against them in others. They certainly mend by time, often by reason; and a man's worldly character is not affected by them, provided it be pure in all other respects.

To come now to a point of much less, but yet of

very great consequence, at your first setting out. Be extremely upon your guard against vanity, the common failing of inexperienced youth ; but particularly against that kind of vanity that dubs a man a coxcomb ; a character which, once acquired, is more indelible than that of the priesthood. It is not to be imagined by how many different ways vanity defeats its own purposes. One man decides peremptorily upon every subject, betrays his ignorance upon many, and shows a disgusting presumption upon the rest. Another desires to appear successful among the women ; he hints at the encouragement he has received from those of the most distinguished rank and beauty, and intimates a particular connection with some one : if it is true, it is ungenerous ; if false, it is infamous : but in either case he destroys the reputation he wants to get. Some flatter their vanity by little extraneous objects which have not the least relation to themselves ; such as being descended from, related to, or acquainted with, people of distinguished merit, and eminent characters. They talk perpetually of their grandfather such-a-one, their uncle such-a-one, and their intimate friend Mr. such-a-one, with whom, possibly, they are hardly acquainted. But admitting it all to be as they would have it, what then ? Have they the more merit for these accidents ? Certainly not. On the contrary, their taking up adventitious, proves their want of intrinsic merit ; a rich man never borrows. Take this rule for granted, as a never-failing one ; that you must never seem to affect the character in which you have a mind to shine. Modesty is the only sure bait when you angle for praise. The affectation of courage will make even a brave man pass only for a bully ; as the

affectation of wit will make a man of parts pass for a coxcomb. By this modesty I do not mean timidity and awkward bashfulness. On the contrary, be inwardly firm and steady, know your own value, whatever it may be, and act upon that principle; but take great care to let nobody discover that you do know your own value. Whatever real merit you have other people will discover; and people always magnify their own discoveries, as they lessen those of others.

For God's sake, revolve all these things seriously in your thoughts before you launch out alone into the ocean of Paris. Recollect the observations that you have yourself made upon mankind, compare and connect them with my instructions, and then act systematically and consequentially from them; not *au jour la journée*. Lay your little plan now, which you will hereafter extend and improve by your own observations, and by the advice of those who can never mean to mislead you; I mean Mr. Harte and myself.

London, May 24, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED yesterday your letter of the 7th, N. S., from Naples, to which place I find you have travelled classically, critically, and *da virtuoso*. You did right, for whatever is worth seeing at all, is worth seeing well, and better than most people see it. It is a poor and frivolous excuse, when anything curious is talked of that one has seen, to say, *I saw it, but really I did not much mind it*. Why did they go to see it, if they would not mind it?—or why would they not mind it when they saw it? Now you are at Naples, you pass

part of your time there, *en honnête homme, da garbato cavaliere*, in the Court, and the best companies. I am told that strangers are received with the utmost hospitality at Prince — *que lui il fait bonne chère, et que Madame la Princesse donne chère entière; mais que sa chair est plus que hazardée ou mortifiée même*: which in plain English means, that she is not only tender, but rotten. If this be true, as I am pretty sure it is, one may say to her in a literal sense, *juvenumque prodis, publica cura*.

Mr. Harte informs me that you are clothed in sumptuous apparel: a young fellow should be so, especially abroad, where fine clothes are so generally the fashion. Next to their being fine, they should be well made, and worn easily; for a man is only the less genteel for a fine coat, if in wearing it he shows a regard for it, and is not as easy in it as if it were a plain one.

I thank you for your drawing, which I am impatient to see, and which I shall hang up in a new gallery that I am building at Blackheath, and very fond of; but I am still more impatient for another copy, which I wonder I have not yet received—I mean the copy of your countenance. I believe, were that a whole length, it would still fall a good deal short of the dimensions of the drawing after Dominichino, which you say is about eight feet high; and I take you, as well as myself, to be of the family of the *Piccolomini*. Mr. Bathurst tells me that he thinks you rather taller than I am; if so, you may very possibly get up to five feet eight inches, which I would compound for, though I would wish you five feet ten. In truth, what do I not wish you that has a tendency to perfection? I say a tendency only, for absolute perfection

is not in human nature, so that it would be idle to wish it; but I am very willing to compound for your coming nearer to perfection than the generality of your cotemporaries: without a compliment to you, I think you bid fair for that. Mr. Harte affirms (and, if it were consistent with his character, would I believe swear) that you have no vices of the heart; you have undoubtedly a stock both of ancient and modern learning, which, I will venture to say, nobody of your age has, and which must now daily increase, do what you will. What then do you want towards that practical degree of perfection which I wish you? Nothing, but the knowledge, the turn, and the manners of the world: I mean the *beau monde*. These it is impossible that you can yet have quite right: they are not given, they must be learned. But then, on the other hand, it is impossible not to acquire them, if one has a mind to them; for they are acquired insensibly, by keeping good company, if one has but the least attention to their characters and manners. Every man becomes, to a certain degree, what the people he generally converses with are. He catches their air, their manners, and even their way of thinking. If he observes with attention he will catch them soon, but if he does not, he will at long run contract them insensibly. I know nothing in the world but poetry that is not to be acquired by application and care. The sum total of this is a very comfortable one for you, as it plainly amounts to this, in your favour—that you now want nothing but what even your pleasures, if they are liberal ones, will teach you. I congratulate both you and myself, upon your being in such a situation, that, excepting your exercises, nothing is now

wanting but pleasures to complete you. Take them, but (as I am sure you will) with people of the first fashion, wherever you are, and the business is done; your exercises at Paris, which I am sure you will attend to, will supple and fashion your body; and the company you will keep there will, with some degree of observation on your part, soon give you their air, address, manners—in short, *le ton de la bonne compagnie*. Let not those considerations, however, make you vain—they are only between you and me; but as they are very comfortable ones, they may justly give you a manly assurance, a firmness, a steadiness, without which a man can neither be well bred, or in any light appear to advantage, or really what he is. They may justly remove all timidity, awkward bashfulness, low diffidence of one's self, and mean abject complaisance to every or any body's opinion. La Bruyère says, very truly, *on ne vaut dans ce monde, que ce que l'on veut valoir*: it is a right principle to proceed upon in the world, taking care only to guard against the appearances and outward symptoms of vanity. Your whole then, you see, turns upon the company you keep for the future. I have laid you in variety of the best at Paris, where, at your arrival, you will find a cargo of letters, to very different sorts of people, as *beaux esprits, savants, et belles dames*. These, if you will frequent them, will form you, not only by their examples, but by their advice and admonitions in private, as I have desired them to do; and consequently add to what you have, the only one thing now needful.

Pray tell me what Italian books you have read, and whether that language is now become familiar to

you. Read Ariosto and Tasso thorough, and then you will have read all the Italian poets, who, in my opinion, are worth reading. In all events, when you get to Paris, take a good Italian master to read Italian with you three times a-week; not only to keep what you have already, which you would otherwise forget, but also to perfect you in the rest. It is a great pleasure, as well as a great advantage to be able to speak to people of all nations, and well in their own language. Aim at perfection in everything, though in most things it is unattainable; however, they who aim at it, and persevere, will come much nearer it, than those whose laziness and despondency make them give it up as unattainable. *Magnis tamen excidit ausis* is a degree of praise which will always attend a noble and shining temerity, and a much better sign in a young fellow, than *serpere humi, tutus nimium timidusque procellæ*. For men, as well as women,

————— Born to be controul'd,
Stoop to the forward and the bold.

A man who sets out in the world with real timidity and diffidence, has not an equal chance in it; he will be discouraged, put by, or trampled upon. But, to succeed, a man, especially a young one, should have inward firmness, steadiness, and intrepidity; with exterior modesty, and *seeming* diffidence. He must modestly, but resolutely, assert his own rights and privileges. *Suaviter in modo*, but *fortiter in re*. He should have an apparent frankness, and openness, but with inward caution and closeness. All these things will come to you by frequenting and observing good company. And by good company, I mean that sort

of company, which is called good company by every body of that place. When all this is over, we shall meet; and then we will talk over, *tête à tête*, the various little finishing strokes, which conversation and acquaintance occasionally suggest, and which cannot be methodically written.

Tell Mr. Harte that I have received his two letters of the 2d and 8th, N.S., which, as soon as I have received a third, I will answer. Adieu, my dear! I find you will do.

London, June 6, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE received your picture, which I have long waited for with impatience; I wanted to see your countenance, from whence I am very apt, as I believe most people are, to form some general opinion of the mind. If the painter has taken you, as well as he has done Mr. Harte, (for his picture is by far the most like I ever saw in my life,) I draw good conclusions from your countenance, which has both spirit and *finesse* in it. In bulk you are pretty well increased since I saw you; if your height is not increased in proportion, I desire that you will make haste to complete it. Seriously, I believe that your exercises at Paris will make you shoot up to a good size; your legs, by all accounts, seem to promise it. Dancing excepted, the wholesome part is the best part of those academical exercises. *Ils dégraisent leur homme.* A propos of exercises; I have prepared everything for your reception at Monsieur de la Guérinière's, and your room, &c. will be ready at your arrival. I am sure you must be sensible how much better it will be for you to be *interne*

in the Academy, for the first six or seven months at least, than to be *en hôtel garni*, at some distance from it, and obliged to go to it every morning, let the weather be what it will, not to mention the loss of time too; besides, by living and boarding in the Academy, you will make an acquaintance with half the young fellows of fashion at Paris; and in a very little while be looked upon as one of them in all French companies; an advantage that has never yet happened to any one Englishman that I have known. I am sure you do not suppose that the difference of the expense, which is but a trifle, has any weight with me in this resolution. You have the French language so perfectly, and you will acquire the French *tournure* so soon, that I do not know anybody likely to pass his time so well at Paris as yourself. Our young countrymen have generally too little French, and too bad address, either to present themselves, or be well received in the best French companies; and, as a proof of it, there is no one instance of an Englishman's having ever been suspected of a gallantry with a French woman of condition, though every French woman of condition is more than suspected of having a gallantry. But they take up with the disgraceful and dangerous commerce of prostitutes, actresses, dancing-women, and that sort of trash; though, if they had common address, better achievements would be extremely easy. *Un arrangement*, which is in plain English a gallantry, is, at Paris, as necessary a part of a woman of fashion's establishment, as her house, table, coach, &c. A young fellow must therefore be a very awkward one, to be reduced to, or of a very singular taste, to prefer drabs and danger to a commerce

(in the course of the world not disgraceful) with a woman of health, education, and rank. Nothing sinks a young man into low company, both of women and men, so surely as timidity, and diffidence of himself. If he thinks that he shall not, he may depend upon it, he will not please. But with proper endeavours to please, and a degree of persuasion that he shall, it is almost certain that he will. How many people does one meet with everywhere, who with very moderate parts, and very little knowledge, push themselves pretty far, singly by being sanguine, enterprising, and persevering? They will take no denial from man or woman; difficulties do not discourage them; repulsed twice or thrice, they rally, they charge again, and nine times in ten prevail at last. The same means will much sooner, and more certainly, attain the same ends, with your parts and knowledge. You have a fund to be sanguine upon, and good forces to rally. In business (talents supposed) nothing is more effectual, or successful, than a good, though concealed, opinion of one's self, a firm resolution, and an unwearied perseverance. None but madmen attempt impossibilities; and whatever is possible, is one way or another to be brought about. If one method fails, try another, and suit your methods to the characters you have to do with.

At the treaty of the Pyrenees, which Cardinal Mazarin, and Don Louis de Haro concluded, *dans l'Isle des Faisans*, the latter carried some very important points by his constant and cool perseverance. The Cardinal had all the Italian vivacity and impatience; Don Louis all the Spanish phlegm and tenaciousness. The point which the Cardinal had most at

heart was, to hinder the re-establishment of the Prince of Condé, his implacable enemy; but he was in haste to conclude, and impatient to return to Court; where absence is always dangerous. Don Louis observed this, and never failed at every conference to bring the affair of the Prince of Condé upon the *tapis* . The Cardinal for some time refused even to treat upon it; Don Louis, with the same *sang froid* as constantly persisted, till he at last prevailed; contrary to the intentions and the interest both of the Cardinal and of his Court.* Sense must distinguish between what is impossible, and what is only difficult; and spirit and perseverance will get the better of the latter. Every man is to be had one way or another, and every woman almost any way. I must not omit one thing, which is previously necessary to this, and indeed to everything else; which is attention, a flexibility of attention; never to be wholly engrossed by any past or future object, but instantly directed to the present one, be it what it will. An absent man can make but few observations; and those will be disjointed and imperfect ones, as half the circumstances must necessarily escape him. He can pursue nothing steadily, because his absences make him *lose* his way. They are very disagreeable, and hardly to be tolerated in old age; but in youth, they cannot be forgiven. If you find that you have the least tendency to them, pray watch yourself very carefully, and you may prevent them now; but if you let them grow into a habit, you will

* The secret despatches of Cardinal Mazarin during his conferences with Don Louis de Haro were published in two volumes at Amsterdam in 1683. Those which are numbered 3, 15, 17, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 36, 44, 45, 74, 77, 78, 79, 42, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54 contain the progress of the negotiation relative to the Prince de Condé.

find it very difficult to cure them hereafter; and a worse distemper I do not know.

I heard with great satisfaction the other day, from one who has been lately at Rome, that nobody was better received in the best companies than yourself. The same thing, I dare say, will happen to you at Paris; where they are particularly kind to all strangers, who will be civil to them, and show a desire of pleasing. But they must be flattered a little, not only by words, but by a seeming preference given to their country, their manners, and their customs; which is but a very small price to pay for a very good reception. Were I in Africa, I would pay it to a negro for his good-will. Adieu.

London, June 11, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE President Montesquieu (whom you will be acquainted with at Paris) after having laid down, in his book *de l'Esprit des Loix*, the nature and principles of the three different kinds of government, viz. the democratical, the monarchical, and the despotic, treats of the education necessary for each respective form. His chapter upon the education proper for the monarchical I thought worth transcribing, and sending to you. You will observe that the monarchy which he has in his eye is France.*

* * * * *

Though our government differs considerably from the French, inasmuch as we have fixed laws, and con-

* Lord Chesterfield here transcribes the second chapter of the fourth book of the *Esprit des Loix*. It appears needless to reprint so long a passage from so popular and well-known a work.

stitutional barriers, for the security of our liberties and properties; yet the President's observations hold pretty near as true in England, as in France. Though Monarchies may differ a good deal, Kings differ very little. Those who are absolute desire to continue so, and those who are not, endeavour to become so; hence, the same maxims and manners almost in all Courts; voluptuousness and profusion encouraged, the one to sink the people into indolence, the other into poverty, consequently into dependency. The Court is called the world here, as well as at Paris; and nothing more is meant, by saying that a man knows the world, than that he knows Courts. In all Courts you must expect to meet with connections without friendship, enmities without hatred, honour without virtue, appearances saved, and realities sacrificed; good manners, with bad morals; and all vice and virtue so disguised, that whoever has only reasoned upon both, would know neither, when he first met them at Court. It is well that you should know the map of that country, that when you come to travel in it, you may do it with greater safety.

From all this, you will of yourself draw this obvious conclusion, That you are in truth but now going to the great and important school, the world; to which Westminster and Leipsig were only the little preparatory schools, as Mary-le-bone, Windsor, &c. are to them. What you have already acquired, will only place you in the second form of this new school instead of the first. But if you intend, as I suppose you do, to get into the shell, you have very different things to learn from Latin and Greek; and which require much more sagacity and attention, than those two dead lan-

guages; the language of pure and simple nature, the language of nature variously modified, and corrupted by passions, prejudices, and habits: the language of simulation, and dissimulation; very hard, but very necessary to decypher. Homer has not half so many, nor so difficult dialects, as the great book of the school you are now going to. Observe therefore progressively and with the greatest attention, what the best scholars in the form immediately above you do, and so on, till you get into the shell yourself. Adieu.

Pray tell Mr. Harte that I have received his letter of the 27th May, N. S., and that I advise him never to take the English news-writers literally, who never yet inserted any one thing quite right. I have both his patent and his Mandamus,* in both which he is Walter, let the newspapers call him what they please.

London, July 9, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I SHOULD not deserve that appellation in return from you, if I did not freely and explicitly inform you of every corrigible defect, which I may either hear of, suspect, or at any time discover in you. Those who in the common course of the world will call themselves your friends; or whom, according to the common notions of friendship, you may possibly think such, will never tell you of your faults, still less of your weaknesses. But on the contrary, more desirous to make

* As Prebendary of Windsor; an appointment which Lord Chesterfield had at this time, not without difficulty, obtained for Mr. Harte. — See in the Miscellaneous Correspondence his letter to Mr. Dayrolles, of April 27, 1750.

you their friend, than to prove themselves yours, they will flatter both, and, in truth, not be sorry for either. Interiorly, most people enjoy the inferiority of their best friends. The useful and essential part of friendship, to you, is reserved singly for Mr. Harte and myself; our relations to you stand pure, and unsuspected of all private views. In whatever we say to you, we can have no interest but yours. We can have no competition, no jealousy, no secret envy or malignity. We are therefore authorised to represent, advise, and remonstrate; and your reason must tell you that you ought to attend to, and believe us.

I am credibly informed, that there is still a considerable hitch or hobble in your enunciation; and that when you speak fast, you sometimes speak unintelligibly. I have formerly and frequently laid my thoughts before you so fully upon this subject, that I can say nothing new upon it now. I must therefore only repeat, that your whole depends upon it. Your trade is to speak well both in public and in private. The manner of your speaking is full as important as the matter, as more people have ears to be tickled, than understandings to judge. Be your productions ever so good, they will be of no use, if you stifle and strangle them in their birth. The best compositions of Corelli,* if ill executed, and played out of tune, instead of touching, as they do when well performed,

* A celebrated composer and violin-player, who was born in 1653, and died in 1713. According to M. Fayolle, "le caractère de Corelli "était doux, aimable, et tout-à-fait conforme au style de sa musique. "Un jour qu'il jouait du violon dans une assemblée nombreuse il "s'aperçut que chacun se mettait à causer. Il posa doucement son "violon au milieu du salon, disant qu'il craignait d'interrompre la "conversation. Ce fut une leçon pour les auditeurs."

would only excite the indignation of the hearers, when murdered by an unskilful performer. But to murder your own productions, and that *coram populo*, is a *Medean cruelty*, which Horace absolutely forbids. Remember of what importance Demosthenes, and one of the Gracchi, thought *enunciation*; read what stress Cicero, and Quintilian lay upon it; even the herb-women at Athens were correct judges of it. Oratory with all its graces, that of enunciation in particular, is full as necessary in our government, as it ever was in Greece or Rome. No man can make a fortune or a figure in this country, without speaking, and speaking well, in public. If you will persuade, you must first please; and if you will please, you must tune your voice to harmony, you must articulate every syllable distinctly, your emphases and cadences must be strongly and properly marked; and the whole together must be graceful and engaging; if you do not speak in that manner, you had much better not speak at all. All the learning you have, or ever can have, is not worth one groat without it. It may be a comfort, and an amusement to you in your closet, but can be of no use to you in the world. Let me conjure you therefore, to make this your only object, till you have absolutely conquered it, for that is in your power; think of nothing else, read and speak for nothing else. Read aloud, though alone, and read articulately and distinctly, as if you were reading in public, and on the most important occasion. Recite pieces of eloquence, declaim scenes of tragedies to Mr. Harte, as if he were a numerous audience. If there is any particular consonant which you have a difficulty in articulating, as I think you had with the *R*, utter it millions and millions of

times, till you have uttered it right. Never speak quick, till you have first learned to speak well. In short, lay aside every book and every thought, that does not directly tend to this great object, absolutely decisive of your future fortune and figure.

The next thing necessary in your destination, is, writing correctly, elegantly, and in a good hand too; in which three particulars, I am sorry to tell you, that you hitherto fail. Your hand-writing is a very bad one, and would make a scurvy figure in an office-book of letters, or even in a lady's pocket-book. But that fault is easily cured by care, since every man who has the use of his eyes and of his right hand

Can with whatever hand he pleases.

As to the correctness and elegance of your writing, attention to grammar does the one, and to the best authors the other. In your letter to me of the 27th June, N. S., you omitted the date of the place, so that I only conjectured from the contents that you were at Rome.

Thus I have, with the truth and freedom of the tenderest affection, told you all your defects, at least all that I know or have heard of. Thank God they are all very curable, they must be cured, and I am sure you will cure them. That once done, nothing remains for you to acquire, or for me to wish, but the turn, the manners, the address, and the Graces of the polite world; which experience, observation, and good company will insensibly give you. Few people at your age have read, seen, and known so much as you have, and consequently few are so near as yourself to what I call perfection, by which I only mean, being

very near as well as the best. Far, therefore, from being discouraged by what you still want, what you already have should encourage you to attempt, and convince you that by attempting you will inevitably obtain it. The difficulties which you have surmounted were much greater than any you have now to encounter. Till very lately your way has been only through thorns and briars; the few that now remain are mixed with roses. Pleasure is now the principal remaining part of your education. It will soften and polish your manners; it will make you pursue and at last overtake the Graces. Pleasure is necessarily reciprocal; no one feels who does not at the same time give it. To be pleased, one must please. What pleases you in others, will in general please them in you. Paris is indisputably the seat of the Graces; they will even court you, if you are not too coy. Frequent and observe the best companies there, and you will soon be naturalized among them; you will soon find how particularly attentive they are to the correctness and elegance of their language, and to the graces of their enunciation; they would even call the understanding of a man in question, who should neglect, or not know the infinite advantages arising from them. *Narrer, réciter, déclamer bien*, are serious studies among them, and well deserve to be so everywhere. The conversations, even among the women, frequently turn upon the elegancies, and minutest delicacies of the French language. An *enjouement*, a gallant turn prevails in all their companies, to women, with whom they neither are, nor pretend to be, in love; but should you (as may very possibly happen) fall really in love there, with some woman of fashion and sense, (for I do not suppose

you capable of falling in love with a strumpet) and that your rival, without half your parts or knowledge, should get the better of you, merely by dint of manners, *enjouement*, *badinage*, &c., how would you regret not having sufficiently attended to those accomplishments which you despised as superficial and trifling, but which you would then find of real consequence in the course of the world! And men, as well as women, are taken by these external graces. Shut up your books then now as a business, and open them only as a pleasure: but let the great book of the world be your serious study; read it over and over, get it by heart, adopt its style, and make it your own.

When I cast up your account as it now stands, I rejoice to see the balance so much in your favour; and that the items *per contra* are so few, and of such a nature that they may be very easily cancelled. By way of debtor and creditor, it stands thus:

Creditor.	By French.	Debtor.	To English.
	German.		Enunciation.
	Italian.		Manners.
	Latin.		
	Greek.		
	Logic.		
	Ethics.		
	History.		
	Naturæ.		
Jus-	{ Gentium.		
	{ Publicum.		

This, my dear friend, is a very true account, and a very encouraging one for you. A man who owes so

little, can clear it off in a very little time, and if he is a prudent man will; whereas a man, who by long negligence owes a great deal, despairs of ever being able to pay; and therefore never looks into his accounts at all.

When you go to Genoa, pray observe carefully all the *environs* of it, and view them with somebody who can tell you all the situations and operations of the Austrian army, during that famous siege, if it deserves to be called one; * for in reality the town never was besieged, nor had the Austrians any one thing necessary for a siege. If Marquis Centurioni, who was last winter in England, should happen to be there, go to him with my compliments, and he will show you all imaginable civilities.

I could have sent you some letters to Florence, but that I knew Mr. Mann† would be of more use to you than all of them. Pray make him my compliments. Cultivate your Italian, while you are at Florence, where it is spoken in its utmost purity, but ill-pronounced.

Pray save me the seed of some of the best melons you eat, and put it up dry in paper. You need not send it me; but Mr. Harte will bring it in his pocket when he comes over. I should likewise be glad of some cuttings of the best figs, especially *il Fico gentile*, and the Maltese; but as this is not the season for them, Mr. Mann will, I dare say, undertake that commission, and send them to me at the proper time by Leghorn. Adieu. Endeavour to please others, and divert your-

* In 1747. It was, as Lord Chesterfield truly intimates, less a siege than a blockade.

† Mr., afterwards Sir Horace, Mann. During above forty-five years (from 1749 till his death in 1786) he continued the British Envoy at Florence, and nearly as long, the correspondent of Walpole.

self as much as ever you can, *en honnête et galant homme*.

P.S.—I send you the enclosed to deliver to Lord Rochford,* upon your arrival at Turin.

London, August 6, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

SINCE your letter from Sienna, which gave me a very imperfect account both of your illness and your recovery, I have not received one word either from you or Mr. Harte. I impute this to the carelessness of the post singly; and the great distance between us, at present, exposes our letters to those accidents. But when you come to Paris, from whence the letters arrive here very regularly, I shall insist upon your writing to me constantly once a week; and that upon the same day, for instance, every Thursday, that I may know by what mail to expect your letter. I shall also require you to be more minute in your account of yourself than you have hitherto been, or than I have required; because of the informations which I have received from time to time from Mr. Harte. At Paris you will be out of your time, and must set up for yourself: it is then that I shall be very solicitous to know how you carry on your business. While Mr. Harte was your partner, the care was his share, and the profit yours. But at Paris, if you will have the latter, you must take the former along with it. It will be quite a new world to you, very different from

* William Henry, fourth Earl of Rochford, had been sent in 1749 as Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Sardinia. In 1766, he was appointed Ambassador at Paris, and in 1768 Secretary of State. He died in 1781.

the little world that you have hitherto seen ; and you will have much more to do in it. You must keep your little accounts constantly every morning, if you would not have them run into confusion, and swell to a bulk that would frighten you from ever looking into them at all. You must allow some time for learning what you do not know, and some for keeping what you do know ; and you must leave a great deal of time for your pleasures, which (I repeat it again) are now become the most necessary part of your education. It is by conversations, dinners, suppers, entertainments, &c., in the best companies, that you must be formed for the world. *Les manières, les agrémens, les graces*, cannot be learned by theory ; they are only to be got by use among those who have them ; and they are now the main object of your life, as they are the necessary steps to your fortune. A man of the best parts, and the greatest learning, if he does not know the world by his own experience and observation, will be very absurd, and consequently very unwelcome in company. He may say very good things ; but they will probably be so ill-timed, misplaced, or improperly addressed, that he had much better hold his tongue. Full of his own matter, and uninformed of, or inattentive to, the particular circumstances and situations of the company, he vents it indiscriminately : he puts some people out of countenance, he shocks others, and frightens all, who dread what may come out next. The most general rule that I can give you for the world, and which your experience will convince you of the truth of, is, Never to give the tone to the company, but to take it from them ; and to labour more to put them in conceit with themselves, than to make them admire you.

Those whom you can make like themselves better, will, I promise you, like you very well.

A system-monger, who, without knowing any thing of the world by experience, has formed a system of it in his dusty cell, lays it down, for example, that (from the general nature of mankind) flattery is pleasing. He will therefore flatter; but how? Why, indiscriminately. And instead of repairing and heightening the piece judiciously, with soft colours, and a delicate pencil; with a coarse brush, and a great deal of white-wash, he daubs and besmears the piece he means to adorn. His flattery offends even his patron, and is almost too gross for his mistress. A man of the world knows the force of flattery as well as he does; but then he knows how, when, and where to give it; he proportions his dose to the constitution of the patient. He flatters by application, by inference, by comparison, by hint, and seldom directly. In the course of the world there is the same difference, in every thing, between system and practice.

I long to have you at Paris, which is to be your great school; you will be then in a manner within reach of me.

Tell me, are you perfectly recovered, or do you still find any remaining complaint upon your lungs? Your diet should be cooling, and at the same time nourishing. Milks of all kinds are proper for you; wines of all kinds bad. A great deal of gentle, and no violent, exercise, is good for you. Adieu! *Gratia, Fama, Valetudo contingat abundè.*

London, October 22, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THIS letter will, I am persuaded, find you, and I hope safely, arrived at Montpellier; from whence I trust that Mr. Harte's indisposition will, by being totally removed, allow you to get to Paris before Christmas. You will there find two people, who, though both English, I recommend in the strongest manner possible to your attention, and advise you to form the most intimate connections with them both, in their different ways. The one is a man whom you already know something of, but not near enough: it is the Earl of Huntingdon;* who, next to you, is the truest object of my affection and esteem, and who (I am proud to say it) calls me and considers me as his adopted father. His parts are as quick as his knowledge is extensive; and if quality were worth putting into an account, where every other item is so much more valuable, his is the first almost in this country: the figure he will make soon after he returns to it will, if I am not more mistaken than ever I was in my life, equal his birth and my hopes. Such a connection will be of infinite advantage to you; and I can assure you that he is extremely disposed to form it upon my account; and will, I hope and believe, desire to improve and cement it upon your own.

* Francis Hastings succeeded as tenth Earl of Huntingdon in 1746, and died unmarried in 1789. Lord Chesterfield's will contains the following injunctions with regard to him: "I desire that my Noble Friend, Francis Earl of Huntingdon, and Sir Charles Hotham" (who had in 1771 succeeded Sir Beaumont in the baronetcy) "shall have absolute direction of the education of my godson Philip Stanhope" (the succeeding Earl of Chesterfield) "until he shall attain the age of twenty-one years; as I know no persons more capable of giving him the sentiments and manners of a gentleman."

In our Parliamentary government, connections are absolutely necessary; and, if prudently formed, and ably maintained, the success of them is infallible. There are two sorts of connections, which I would always advise you to have in view. The first I will call equal ones; by which I mean those where the two connecting parties reciprocally find their account, from pretty near an equal degree of parts and abilities. In those, there must be a freer communication; each must see that the other is able, and be convinced that he is willing to be of use to him. Honour must be the principle of such connections; and there must be a mutual dependence, that present and separate interest shall not be able to break them. There must be a joint system of action; and in case of different opinions, each must recede a little, in order at last to form an unanimous one. Such, I hope, will be your connection with Lord Huntingdon. You will both come into Parliament at the same time; and if you have an equal share of abilities and application, you and he, with other young people, whom you will naturally associate, may form a band which will be respected by any administration, and make a figure in the public. The other sort of connections I call unequal ones; that is, where the parts are all on one side, and the rank and fortune on the other. Here, the advantage is all on one side; but that advantage must be ably and artfully concealed. Complaisance, an engaging manner, and a patient toleration of certain airs of superiority, must cement them. The weaker party must be taken by the heart, his head giving no hold; and he must be governed by being made to believe that he governs. These people, skil-

fully led, give great weight to their leader. I have formerly pointed out to you a couple that I take to be proper objects for your skill; and you will meet with twenty more, for they are very ripe.

The other person, whom I recommend to you, is a woman; not as a woman, for that is not immediately my business; besides, I fear she is turned of fifty. It is Lady Hervey,* whom I directed you to call upon at Dijon; but who, to my great joy, because to your great advantage, passes all this winter at Paris. She has been bred all her life at Courts; of which she has acquired all the easy good-breeding, and politeness, without the frivolousness. She has all the reading that a woman should have; and more than any woman need have; for she understands Latin perfectly well, though she wisely conceals it. As she will look upon you as her son, I desire that you will look upon her as my delegate: trust, consult, and apply to her without reserve. No woman ever had, more than she has, *le ton de la parfaitement bonne compagnie, les manières engageantes, et le je ne sais quoi qui plait*. Desire her to reprove and correct any, and every, the least error and inaccuracy in your manners, air, address, &c. No woman in Europe can do it so well; none will do it more willingly, or in a more proper and obliging manner. In such a case she will not put you out of countenance, by telling you of it in company; but either intimate it by some sign, or wait for an opportunity when you are alone

* The celebrated Mary Lepel married, in 1720, John Lord Hervey, eldest son of the Earl of Bristol, and the *Sporus* of Pope. She died in 1768. A volume of her letters to the Rev. Edmund Morria, tutor to one of her sons, was published in 1821.

together. She is also in the best French company, where she will not only introduce, but *puff* you, if I may use so low a word. And I can assure you, that it is no little help in the *beau monde*, to be puffed there by a fashionable woman. I send you the enclosed billet to carry her, only as a certificate of the identity of your person, which I take it for granted she could not know again.

You would be so much surprised to receive a whole letter from me, without any mention of the exterior ornaments necessary for a gentleman, as manners, elocution, air, address, graces, &c., that, to comply with your expectations, I will touch upon them; and tell you, that, when you come to England, I will show you some people whom I do not now care to name, raised to the highest stations, singly by those exterior and adventitious ornaments; whose parts would never have entitled them to the smallest office in the excise. Are they then necessary, and worth acquiring, or not? You will see many instances of this kind at Paris, particularly a glaring one, of a person raised to the highest posts and dignities in France, as well as to be absolute sovereign of the *beau monde*, singly by the graces of his person and address; by woman's chit-chat, accompanied with important gestures; by an imposing air, and pleasing *abord*.* Nay, by these helps he even passes for a wit, though he hath certainly no uncommon share of it. I will not name him, because it would be very imprudent in you to do it. A young fellow, at his first entrance into the *beau monde*, must not offend the king *de facto* there.

* This allusion is apparently to the *Maréchal, Duc de Richelieu*; and it is so stated in a note to the editions of 1774.

It is very often more necessary to conceal contempt than resentment, the former being never forgiven, but the latter sometimes forgot.

There is a small quarto book, entitled *Histoire Chronologique de la France*, lately published by Le Président Hénault;* a man of parts and learning, with whom you will probably get acquainted at Paris. I desire that it may always lie upon your table, for your recourse as often as you read history. The chronology, though chiefly relative to the history of France, is not singly confined to it; but the most interesting events of all the rest of Europe are also inserted, and many of them adorned by short, pretty, and just reflections. The new edition of *les Mémoires de Sully*, in three quarto volumes,† is also extremely well worth your reading, as it will give you a clearer

* Le Président Hénault is well known by the chronology which Lord Chesterfield mentions. In 1765, Horace Walpole describes him as follows at a supper at Madame du Deffand's. "The President is very 'near deaf and much nearer supernannated. He sits by the table; 'the mistress of the house, who formerly was his, inquires after every 'dish on the table, is told who has eaten of which, and then bawls the 'bills of fare of every individual into the President's ears.'"—To the Hon. H. Conway, (October 6, 1765.

† The *Œconomies Royales* as written by Sully, and as printed in 1638, adopt throughout the cumbrous fiction of the second person,—the Secretaries of Sully recounting to their master, under his dictation, all that he has seen and done! In 1745, the Abbé de l'Ecluse undertook the revision of these Memoirs, and by judiciously restoring the first person and omitting some of the *longueurs*—

"We've not so good a word but have the thing"

—has made them one of the most agreeable historical works to be found in any language. The edition referred to by Lord Chesterfield is that of 1747, with London on the title-page, but really printed at Paris. Since, and by reason of, that publication, says Sémondi, "la 'réputation de Sully a grandi de nouveau."—*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 478.

and truer notion of one of the most interesting periods of the French history, than you can yet have formed, from all the other books you may have read upon the subject. That prince, I mean Henry the Fourth, had all the accomplishments and virtues of a Hero, and of a King; and almost of a man. The last are the most rarely seen; may you possess them all! Adieu!

Pray make my compliments to Mr. Harte, and let him know that I have this moment received his letter of the 12th, N.S., from Antibes. It requires no immediate answer: I shall therefore delay mine till I have another from him. Give him the enclosed, which I have received from Mr. Eliot.

London, November 1, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HOPE this letter will not find you still at Montpellier, but rather be sent after you from thence to Paris, where I am persuaded that Mr. Harte could find as good advice for his leg as at Montpellier, if not better; but if he is of a different opinion, I am sure you ought to stay there as long as he desires.

While you are in France, I could wish that the hours you allot for historical amusement should be entirely devoted to the history of France. One always reads history to most advantage in that country to which it is relative; not only books, but persons being ever at hand to solve the doubts and clear up difficulties. I do by no means advise you to throw away your time in ransacking, like a dull antiquarian, the minute and unimportant parts of remote and fabulous times. Let blockheads read what blockheads wrote.

A general notion of the history of France, from the conquest of that country by the Franks, to the reign of Louis XI., is sufficient for use, consequently sufficient for you. There are, however, in those remote times, some remarkable eras that deserve more particular attention; I mean those in which some notable alterations happened in the constitution and form of government. As for example, the settlement of Clovis in Gaul, and the form of government which he then established; for, by the way, that form of government differed in this particular from all the other Gothic governments, that the people, neither collectively nor by representatives, had any share in it. It was a mixture of monarchy and aristocracy; and what were called the States-General of France consisted only of the nobility and clergy till the time of Philip le Bel, in the very beginning of the fourteenth century; who first called the people to those assemblies, by no means for the good of the people, who were only amused by this pretended honour, but, in truth, to check the nobility and clergy, and induce them to grant the money he wanted for his profusion: this was a scheme of Enguerrand de Marigny, his Minister, who governed both him and his kingdom to such a degree, as to be called the coadjutor and governor of the kingdom. Charles Martel laid aside these assemblies, and governed by open force. Pepin restored them, and attached them to him, and with them the nation; by which means he deposed Childeric, and mounted the throne. This is a second period worth your attention. The third race of Kings, which begins with Hugues Capet, is a third period. A judicious reader of history will save himself a great deal of time and trouble, by

attending with care only to those interesting periods of history which furnish remarkable events and make eras; going slightly over the common run of events. Some people read history as others read the Pilgrim's Progress; giving equal attention to, and indiscriminately loading their memories with every part alike. But I would have you read it in a different manner: take the shortest general history you can find of every country, and mark down in that history the most important periods; such as conquests, changes of Kings, and alterations of the form of government, and then have recourse to more extensive histories or particular treatises relative to these great points. Consider them well, trace up their causes, and follow their consequences. For instance, there is a most excellent though very short history of France by Le Gendre. Read that with attention, and you will know enough of the general history; but when you find there such remarkable periods as are above mentioned, consult Mezeray and other the best and minutest historians, as well as political treatises upon those subjects. In later times, Memoirs, from those of Philip de Comines down to the innumerable ones in the reign of Louis XIV., have been of great use, and thrown great light upon particular parts of history.

Conversation in France, if you have the address and dexterity to turn it upon useful subjects, will exceedingly improve your historical knowledge; for people there, however classically ignorant they may be, think it a shame to be ignorant of the history of their own country: they read that if they read nothing else, and having often read nothing else, are proud of having read that, and talk of it willingly; even the women are

well instructed in that sort of reading. I am far from meaning by this that you should always be talking wisely, in company, of books, history, and matters of knowledge. There are many companies which you will and ought to keep, where such conversations would be misplaced and ill-timed: your own good sense must distinguish the company and the time. You must trifle with triflers, and be serious only with the serious; but dance to those who pipe. *Cur in theatrum Cato severe venisti?* was justly said to an old man: how much more so would it be to one of your age? From the moment that you are dressed and go out, pocket all your knowledge with your watch, and never pull it out in company unless desired: the producing of the one unasked, implies that you are weary of the company; and the producing of the other unrequired, will make the company weary of you. Company is a republic too jealous of its liberties to suffer a dictator even for a quarter of an hour; and yet in that, as in all republics, there are some few who really govern, but then it is by seeming to disclaim, instead of attempting to usurp the power; that is the occasion in which manners, dexterity, address, and the undefinable *je ne sais quoi* triumph; if properly exerted their conquest is sure, and the more lasting for not being perceived. Remember, that this is not only your first and greatest, but ought to be almost your only object while you are in France.

I know that many of your countrymen are apt to call the freedom and vivacity of the French, petulance and ill-breeding; but should you think so, I desire upon many accounts that you will not say so. I admit that it may be so, in some instances of *petits*

maitres étourdis, and in some young people unbroken to the world; but I can assure you, that you will find it much otherwise with people of a certain rank and age, upon whose model you will do very well to form yourself. We call their steady assurance impudence. Why? Only because what we call modesty is awkward bashfulness, and *mauvaise honte*. For my part, I see no impudence, but, on the contrary, infinite utility and advantage, in presenting one's self with the same coolness and unconcern, in any and every company: till one can do that, I am very sure that one can never present one's self well. Whatever is done under concern and embarrassment, must be ill-done; and, till a man is absolutely easy and unconcerned in every company, he will never be thought to have kept good, nor be very welcome in it. A steady assurance, with seeming modesty, is possibly the most useful qualification that a man can have in every part of life. A man would certainly make a very considerable fortune and figure in the world, whose modesty and timidity should often, as bashfulness always does, put him in the deplorable and lamentable situation of the pious *Aeneas*, when, *obstupuit, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit*. Fortune (as well as women)

——— born to be controul'd,
Stoop to the forward and the bold.

Assurance and intrepidity, under the white banner of seeming modesty, clear the way for merit, that would otherwise be discouraged by difficulties in its journey; whereas barefaced impudence is the noisy and blustering harbinger of a worthless and senseless usurper.

You will think that I shall never have done recommending to you these exterior worldly accomplishments, and you will think right, for I never shall: they are of too great consequence to you for me to be indifferent or negligent about them—the shining part of your future figure and fortune depends now wholly upon them. These are the acquisitions which must give efficacy and success to those you have already made. To have it said and believed that you are the most learned man in England, would be no more than was said and believed of Dr. Bentley; but to have it said at the same time that you are also the best bred, most polite, and agreeable man in the kingdom, would be such a happy composition of a character, as I never yet knew any one man deserve, and which I will endeavour, as well as ardently wish, that you may. Absolute perfection is, I well know, unattainable; but I know, too, that a man of parts may be unweariedly aiming at, and arrive pretty near it. Try, labour, persevere. Adieu.

London, November 8, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BEFORE you get to Paris, where you will soon be left to your own discretion, if you have any, it is necessary that we should understand one another thoroughly; which is the most probable way of preventing disputes. Money, the cause of much mischief in the world, is the cause of most quarrels between fathers and sons: the former commonly thinking that they cannot give too little, and the latter that they cannot have enough; both equally in the wrong. You must do me the

justice to acknowledge, that I have hitherto neither stinted nor grudged any expense that could be of use or real pleasure to you; and I can assure you, by the way, that you have travelled at a much more considerable expense than I did myself; but I never so much as thought of that while Mr. Harte was at the head of your finances, being very sure that the sums granted were scrupulously applied to the uses for which they were intended. But the case will soon be altered, and you will be your own receiver and treasurer. However, I promise you that we will not quarrel singly upon the *quantum*, which shall be cheerfully and freely granted: the application and appropriation of it will be the material point, which I am now going to clear up, and finally settle with you. I will fix, or even name, no settled allowance, though I well know in my own mind what would be the proper one; but I will first try your drafts, by which I can in a good degree judge of your conduct. This only I tell you in general, that, if the channels through which my money is to go are the proper ones, the source shall not be scanty; but should it deviate into dirty, muddy, and obscure ones (which, by the bye, it cannot do for a week without my knowing it), I give you fair and timely notice, that the source will instantly be dry. Mr. Harte, in establishing you at Paris, will point out to you those proper channels; he will leave you there upon the foot of a man of fashion, and I will continue you upon the same. You will have your coach, your valet de chambre, your own footman, and a valet de place—which, by the way, is one servant more than I had. I would have you very well dressed, by which I mean, dressed as the generality of people of fashion are—

that is, not to be taken notice of, for being either more or less fine than other people: it is by being well dressed, not finely dressed, that a gentleman should be distinguished. You must frequent *les spectacles*, which expense I shall willingly supply. You must play, à *des petits jeux de commerce*, in mixed companies: that article is trifling; I shall pay it cheerfully. All the other articles of pocket-money are very inconsiderable at Paris, in comparison of what they are here—the silly custom of giving money wherever one dines or sups, and the expensive importunity of subscriptions, not being yet introduced there. Having thus reckoned up all the decent expenses of a gentleman, which I will most readily defray, I come now to those which I will neither bear nor supply. The first of these is gaming, which, though I have not the least reason to suspect you of, I think it necessary eventually to assure you, that no consideration in the world shall ever make me pay your play-debts: should you ever urge to me that your honour is pawned, I should most immoveably answer you, that it was your honour, not mine, that was pawned, and that your creditor might even take the pawn for the debt.

Low company, and low pleasures, are always much more costly than liberal and elegant ones. The disgraceful riots of a tavern are much more expensive, as well as dishonourable, than the (sometimes pardonable) excesses in good company. I must absolutely hear of no tavern scrapes and squabbles.

I come now to another and very material point; I mean women; and I will not address myself to you upon this subject, either in a religious, a moral, or a parental style. I will even lay aside my age, remem-

ber yours, and speak to you, as one man of pleasure, if he had parts too, would speak to another. I will, by no means, pay for w——, and their never-failing consequences, surgeons; nor will I, upon any account, keep singers, dancers, actresses, and *id genus omne*; and, independently of the expense, I must tell you, that such connections would give me, and all sensible people, the utmost contempt for your parts and address: a young fellow must have as little sense as address, to venture, or more properly to sacrifice his health, and ruin his fortune, with such sort of creatures; in such a place as Paris especially, where gallantry is both the profession and the practice of every woman of fashion. To speak plainly; I will not forgive your understanding c— and p—; nor will your constitution forgive them you. These distempers, as well as their cures, fall nine times in ten upon the lungs. This argument, I am sure, ought to have weight with you; for I protest to you, that if you meet with any such accident, I would not give one year's purchase for your life.

Lastly, there is another sort of expense that I will not allow, only because it is a silly one; I mean the fooling away your money in baubles at toyshops. Have one handsome snuff-box (if you take snuff) and one handsome sword; but then no more very pretty and very useless things.

By what goes before, you will easily perceive, that I mean to allow you whatever is necessary, not only for the figure, but for the pleasures of a Gentleman, and not to supply the profusion of a Rake. This, you must confess, does not savour of either the severity or parsimony of old age. I consider this agreement be-

tween us, as a subsidiary treaty on my part, for services to be performed on yours. I promise you, that I will be as punctual in the payment of the subsidies, as England has been during the last war; but then I give you notice at the same time, that I require a much more scrupulous execution of the treaty on your part, than we met with on that of our Allies; or else that payment will be stopped. I hope that all that I have now said, was absolutely unnecessary, and that sentiments more worthy and more noble than pecuniary ones, would of themselves have pointed out to you the conduct I recommend; but, in all events, I resolved to be once for all explicit with you, that in the worst that can happen, you may not plead ignorance, and complain that I had not sufficiently explained to you my intentions.

Having mentioned the word Rake, I must say a word or two more upon that subject, because young people too frequently, and always fatally, are apt to mistake that character for that of a man of pleasure; whereas, there are not in the world two characters more different. A rake is a composition of all the lowest, most ignoble, degrading, and shameful vices; they all conspire to disgrace his character, and to ruin his fortune; while wine and the p— contend which shall soonest, and most effectually destroy his constitution. A dissolute, flagitious footman, or porter, makes full as good a rake as a man of the first quality. By the bye, let me tell you, that in the wildest part of my youth, I never was a rake, but, on the contrary, always detested and despised the character.

A man of pleasure, though not always so scrupulous as he should be, and as one day he will wish he

had been, refines at least his pleasures by taste, accompanies them with decency, and enjoys them with dignity. Few men can be men of pleasure, every man may be a rake. Remember that I shall know everything you say or do at Paris, as exactly as if, by the force of magic, I could follow you everywhere, like a Sylph or a Gnome, invisible myself. Seneca says, very prettily, that one should ask nothing of God, but what one should be willing that men should know; nor of men, but what one should be willing that God should know: I advise you to say or do nothing at Paris, but what you would be willing that I should know. I hope, nay I believe, that will be the case. Sense, I dare say, you do not want; instruction, I am sure, you have never wanted; experience, you are daily gaining; all which together must inevitably (I should think) make you both *respectable et aimable*, the perfection of a human character. In that case nothing shall be wanting on my part, and you shall solidly experience all the extent and tenderness of my affection for you; but dread the reverse of both! Adieu.

P.S.—When you get to Paris, after you have been to wait on Lord Albemarle,* go to see Mr. Yorke,† whom I have particular reasons for desiring that you should be well with, as I shall hereafter explain to

* William Anne, second Earl of Albemarle, died in December, 1754, as Ambassador at Paris. A sketch of his character and fortunes is given by Lord Chesterfield in his subsequent letter of May 27, 1752.

† Joseph, third son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, was at this time Secretary of Embassy at Paris, but became, in 1761, Envoy at the Hague. He was created Lord Dover in 1768, and died without issue in 1781.

you. Let him know that my orders, and your own inclinations, conspired to make you desire his friendship and protection.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE sent you so many preparatory letters for Paris, that this, which will meet you there, shall only be a summary of them all.

You have hitherto had more liberty than any body of your age ever had; and I must do you the justice to own, that you have made a better use of it than most people of your age would have done; but then, though you had not a jailer, you had a friend with you. At Paris, you will not only be unconfined, but unassisted. Your own good sense must be your only guide; I have great confidence in it, and am convinced that I shall receive just such accounts of your conduct at Paris as I could wish; for I tell you beforehand, that I shall be most minutely informed of all that you do, and almost of all that you say there. Enjoy the pleasures of youth, you cannot do better; but refine and dignify them like a man of parts; let them raise and not sink, let them adorn and not vilify, your character; let them, in short, be the pleasures of a gentleman, and taken with your equals at least, but rather with your superiors, and those chiefly French.

Inquire into the characters of the several academicians, before you form a connection with any of them; and be most upon your guard against those who make the most court to you.

You cannot study much in the Academy; but you may study usefully there, if you are an economist of

your time, and bestow only upon good books those quarters and halves of hours, which occur to everybody in the course of almost every day; and which, at the year's end, amount to a very considerable sum of time. Let Greek, without fail, share some part of every day: I do not mean the Greek poets, the catches of Anacreon, or the tender complaints of Theocritus, or even the porter-like language of Homer's heroes; of whom all smatterers in Greek know a little, quote often, and talk of always; but I mean Plato, Aristotiles, Demosthenes, and Thucydides, whom none but adepts know. It is Greek that must distinguish you in the learned world, Latin alone will not. And Greek must be sought to be retained, for it never occurs like Latin. When you read history, or other books of amusement, let every language you are master of have its turn; so that you may not only retain, but improve in, every one. I also desire that you will converse in German and Italian with all the Germans and the Italians with whom you converse at all. This will be a very agreeable and flattering thing to them, and a very useful one to you.

Pray apply yourself diligently to your exercises; for though the doing them well is not supremely meritorious, the doing them ill is illiberal, vulgar, and ridiculous.

I recommend theatrical representations to you; which are excellent at Paris. The tragedies of Corneille and Racine, and the comedies of Molière, well attended to, are admirable lessons, both for the heart and the head. There is not, nor ever was, any theatre comparable to the French. If the music of the French operas does not please your Italian ear, the

words of them, at least, are sense and poetry, which is much more than I can say of any Italian opera that I ever read or heard in my life.

I send you the enclosed letter of recommendation to Marquis Matignon, which I would have you deliver to him as soon as you can: you will, I am sure, feel the good effects of his warm friendship for me, and Lord Bolingbroke; who has also wrote to him upon your subject. By that, and by the other letters which I have sent you, you will be at once so thoroughly introduced into the best French company, that you must take some pains if you will keep bad; but that is what I do not suspect you of. You have, I am sure, too much right ambition to prefer low and disgraceful company to that of your superiors, both in rank and age. Your character, and consequently, your fortune, absolutely depends upon the company you keep, and the turn you take at Paris. I do not, in the least, mean a grave turn; on the contrary, a gay, a sprightly, but, at the same time, an elegant and liberal one.

Keep carefully out of all scrapes and quarrels. They lower a character extremely; and are particularly dangerous in France; where a man is dishonoured by not resenting an affront, and utterly ruined by resenting it. The young Frenchmen are hasty, giddy, and petulant; extremely national and *avantageux*. Forbear from any national jokes or reflections, which are always improper, and commonly unjust. The colder northern nations generally look upon France as a whistling, singing, dancing, frivolous nation: this notion is very far from being a true one, though many *petits maîtres* by their behaviour seem to justify it; but those very *petits maîtres*, when mellowed by age

and experience, very often turn out very able men. The number of great generals and statesmen, as well as excellent authors, that France has produced, is an undeniable proof, that it is not that frivolous, unthinking, empty nation that northern prejudices suppose it. Seem to like and approve of everything at first, and I promise you, that you will like and approve of many things afterwards.

I expect that you will write to me constantly once every week, which I desire may be every Thursday; and that your letters may inform me of your personal transactions; not of what you see, but of whom you see, and what you do.

Be your own monitor, now that you will have no other. As to enunciation, I must repeat it to you again and again, that there is no one thing so necessary; all other talents, without that, are absolutely useless, except in your own closet.

It sounds ridiculously to bid you study with your dancing-master; and yet I do. The bodily carriage and graces are of infinite consequence to everybody, and more particularly to you.

Adieu for this time, my dear child. Yours tenderly.

London, November 12, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You will possibly think that this letter turns upon strange, little trifling objects; and you will think right, if you consider them separately; but if you take them aggregately, you will be convinced that, as parts, which conspire to form that whole, called the exterior of a man of fashion, they are of importance. I shall not dwell

now upon those personal graces, that liberal air, and that engaging address, which I have so often recommended to you; but descend still lower—to your dress, cleanliness, and care of your person.

When you come to Paris, you must take care to be extremely well dressed, that is, as the fashionable people are: this does by no means consist in the finery, but in the taste, fitness, and manner of wearing your clothes: a fine suit ill-made, and slatternly, or stiffly worn, far from adorning, only exposes the awkwardness of the wearer. Get the best French tailor to make your clothes, whatever they are, in the fashion, and to fit you, and then wear them; button them or unbutton them, as the genteelst people you see do. Let your man learn of the best *friseur* to do your hair well, for this is a very material part of your dress. Take care to have your stockings well gartered up, and your shoes well buckled; for nothing gives a more slovenly air to a man than ill-dressed legs. In your person you must be accurately clean; and your teeth, hands, and nails should be superlatively so. A dirty mouth has real ill consequences to the owner, for it infallibly causes the decay, as well as the intolerable pain of the teeth; and it is very offensive to his acquaintance, for it will most inevitably stink. I insist, therefore, that you wash your teeth the first thing you do every morning, with a soft sponge and warm water, for four or five minutes, and then wash your mouth five or six times. *Mouton*, whom I desire you will send for upon your arrival at Paris, will give you an opiate, and a liquor to be used sometimes. Nothing looks more ordinary, vulgar, and illiberal, than dirty hands, and ugly, uneven, and ragged nails. I do not

suspect you of that shocking, awkward trick, of biting yours; but that is not enough; you must keep the ends of them smooth and clean—not tipped with black, as the ordinary people's always are. The ends of your nails should be small segments of circles, which, by a very little care in the cutting, they are very easily brought to; every time that you wipe your hands, rub the skin round your nails backwards, that it may not grow up and shorten your nails too much. The cleanliness of the rest of your person, which by the way will conduce greatly to your health, I refer from time to time to the bagnio. My mentioning these particulars arises (I freely own) from some suspicion that the hints are not unnecessary; for when you was a school-boy, you were slovenly and dirty above your fellows. I must add another caution, which is, that upon no account whatever you put your fingers, as too many people are apt to do, in your nose or ears. It is the most shocking, nasty, vulgar rudeness, that can be offered to company; it disgusts one, it turns one's stomach; and, for my own part, I would much rather know that a man's fingers were actually in his breech, than see them in his nose. Wash your ears well every morning, and blow your nose in your handkerchief whenever you have occasion; but, by the way, without looking at it afterwards. There should be in the least, as well as in the greatest parts of a gentleman, *les manières nobles*. Sense will teach you some, observation others: attend carefully to the manners, the diction, the motions, of people of the first fashion, and form your own upon them. On the other hand, observe a little those of the vulgar, in order to avoid them; for though the things which they say or do

may be the same, the manner is always totally different; and in that, and nothing else, consists the characteristic of a man of fashion. The lowest peasant speaks, moves, dresses, eats, and drinks, as much as a man of the first fashion; but does them all quite differently; so that by doing and saying most things in a manner opposite to that of the vulgar, you have a great chance of doing and saying them right. There are gradations in awkwardness and vulgarity, as there are in everything else. *Les manières de Robe*, though not quite right, are still better than *les manières Bourgeoises*; and these, though bad, are still better than *les manières de Campagne*. But the language, the air, the dress, and the manners of the Court, are the only true standard *des manières nobles, et d'un honnête homme*. *Ex pede Herculem* is an old and true saying, and very applicable to our present subject; for a man of parts, who has been bred at Courts, and used to keep the best company, will distinguish himself, and is to be known from the vulgar, by every word, attitude, gesture, and even look. I cannot leave these seeming *minuties*, without repeating to you the necessity of your carving well, which is an article, little as it is, that is useful twice every day of one's life; and the doing it ill is very troublesome to one's self, and very disagreeable, often ridiculous, to others.

Having said all this, I cannot help reflecting what a formal dull fellow, or a cloistered pedant, would say, if they were to see this letter: they would look upon it with the utmost contempt, and say, that surely a father might find much better topics for advice to a son. I would admit it, if I had given you, or that you were capable of receiving no better; but if suf-

ficient pains have been taken to form your heart and improve your mind, and, as I hope, not without success, I will tell those solid gentlemen, that all these trifling things, as they think them, collectively form that pleasing *je ne sçais quoi*, that *ensemble*, which they are utter strangers to, both in themselves and others. The word *aimable* is not known in their language, or the thing in their manners. Great usage of the world, great attention, and a great desire of pleasing, can alone give it; and it is no trifle. It is from old people's looking upon these things as trifles, or not thinking of them at all, that so many young people are so awkward and so ill-bred. Their parents, often careless and unmindful of them, give them only the common run of education—as school, university, and then travelling—without examining, and very often without being able to judge if they did examine, what progress they make in any one of these stages. Then they carelessly comfort themselves, and say, that their sons will do like other people's sons; and so they do, that is, commonly very ill. They correct none of the childish, nasty tricks, which they get at school; nor the illiberal manners which they contract at the university; nor the frivolous and superficial pertness, which is commonly all that they acquire by their travels. As they do not tell them of these things, nobody else can; so they go on in the practice of them, without ever hearing, or knowing, that they are unbecoming, indecent, and shocking. For, as I have often formerly observed to you, nobody but a father can take the liberty to reprove a young fellow grown up, for those kind of inaccuracies and improprieties of behaviour. The most intimate friendship,

unassisted by the paternal superiority, will not authorise it. I may truly say, therefore, that you are happy in having me for a sincere, friendly, and quick-sighted monitor. Nothing will escape me; I shall pry for your defects, in order to correct them, as curiously as I shall seek for your perfections, in order to applaud and reward them: with this difference only, that I shall publicly mention the latter, and never hint at the former, but in a letter to, or a *tête-à-tête* with you. I will never put you out of countenance before company, and I hope you will never give me reason to be out of countenance for you, as any one of the above-mentioned defects would make me. *Prætor non curat de minimis* was a maxim in the Roman law, for causes only of a certain value were tried by him; but there were inferior jurisdictions, that took cognizance of the smallest. Now I shall try you, not only as a Prætor in the greatest, but as Censor in lesser, and as the lowest magistrate in the least cases.

I have this moment received Mr. Harte's letter of the 1st November, New Style; by which I am very glad to find that he thinks of moving towards Paris, the end of this month, which looks as if his leg were better; besides, in my opinion, you both of you only lose time at Montpellier; he would find better advice, and you better company, at Paris. In the mean time, I hope you go into the best company there is at Montpellier, and there always is some at the Intendant's or the Commandant's. You will have had full time to have learned *les petites chansons Languedociennes*, which are exceeding pretty ones, both words and tunes. I remember, when I was in those parts, I was surprised at the difference which I found between the

people on one side, and those on the other side of the Rhône. The *Provençaux* were, in general, surly, ill-bred, ugly, and swarthy: the Languedociens the very reverse; a cheerful, well-bred, handsome people. Adieu! Yours most affectionately.

P.S.—Upon reflection, I direct this letter to Paris; I think you must have left Montpellier before it could arrive there.

London, November 19, O. S. 1750.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I WAS very glad to find, by your letter of the 12th, N.S., that you had informed yourself so well of the state of the French marine at Toulon, and of the commerce at Marseilles: they are objects that deserve the inquiry and attention of every man, who intends to be concerned in public affairs. The French are now wisely attentive to both; their commerce is incredibly increased within these last thirty years: they have beaten us out of great part of our Levant trade: their East-India trade has greatly affected ours; and, in the West Indies, their Martinico establishment supplies, not only France itself, but the greatest part of Europe, with sugars; whereas our islands, as Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward, have now no other market for theirs but England. New France, or Canada, has also greatly lessened our fur and skin trade. It is true (as you say) that we have no treaty of commerce subsisting (I do not say *with Marseilles*) but with France. There was a treaty of commerce made, between England and France, immediately after the treaty of Utrecht; but the whole treaty was conditional, and to depend upon the Parliament's enacting

certain things, which were stipulated in two of the articles; the Parliament, after a very famous debate, would not do it; so the treaty fell to the ground: however, the outlines of that treaty are, by mutual and tacit consent, the general rules of our present commerce with France. It is true too, that our commodities, which go to France, must go in our bottoms; the French having imitated, in many respects, our famous Act of Navigation, as it is commonly called. This Act was made in the year 1652, in the Parliament held by Oliver Cromwell. It forbids all foreign ships to bring into England any merchandize or commodities whatsoever, that were not of the growth and produce of that country to which those ships belonged, under penalty of the forfeiture of such ships. This Act was particularly levelled at the Dutch; who were, at that time, the carriers of almost all Europe, and got immensely by freight. Upon this principle, of the advantages arising from freight, there is a provision in the same Act, that even the growth and produce of our own colonies in America shall not be carried from thence to any other country in Europe, without first touching in England; but this clause has lately been repealed, in the instances of some perishable commodities, such as rice, &c., which are allowed to be carried directly from our American colonies to other countries. The Act also provides, that two-thirds, I think, of those who navigate the said ships shall be British subjects. There is an excellent, and little book, written by the famous Monsieur Huet, Evêque d'Avranches, *sur le Commerce des Anciens*, which is very well worth your reading, and very soon read. It will give you a clear notion of the rise and

progress of commerce. There are many other books which take up the history of commerce where Monsieur d'Avranches leaves it, and bring it down to these times: I advise you to read some of them with care; commerce being a very essential part of political knowledge in every country, but more particularly in this, which owes all its riches and power to it.

I come now to another part of your letter, which is the orthography, if I may call bad spelling *orthography*. You spell induce, *enduce*; and grandeur, you spell *grandure*; two faults, of which few of my housemaids would have been guilty. I must tell you, that orthography, in the true sense of the word, is so absolutely necessary for a man of letters, or a gentleman, that one false spelling may fix a ridicule upon him for the rest of his life; and I know a man of quality, who never recovered the ridicule of having spelled *wholcsome* without the *w*.

Reading with care will secure everybody from false spelling; for books are always well spelled, according to the orthography of the times. Some words are indeed doubtful, being spelled differently by different authors of equal authority, but those are few; and in those cases every man has his option, because he may plead his authority either way; but where there is but one right way, as in the two words above-mentioned, it is unpardonable and ridiculous for a gentleman to miss it: even a woman of a tolerable education would despise, and laugh at a lover, who should send her an ill-spelled *billet-doux*. I fear, and suspect, that you have taken it into your head, in most cases, that the Matter is all, and the Manner little or nothing. If you have, undeceive yourself, and be convinced

that, in everything, the Manner is full as important as the Matter. If you speak the sense of an angel, in bad words, and with a disagreeable utterance, nobody will hear you twice, who can help it. If you write epistles as well as Cicero, but in a very bad hand, and very ill-spelled, whoever receives, will laugh at them; and if you had the figure of Adonis, with an awkward air and motions, it will disgust instead of pleasing. Study Manner therefore in everything, if you would be anything. My principal inquiries of my friends at Paris concerning you, will be relative to your Manner of doing whatever you do. I shall not inquire whether you understand Demosthenes, Tacitus, or the *jus publicum imperii*; but I shall inquire whether your utterance is pleasing, your style not only pure but elegant, your manners noble and easy, your air and address engaging; in short, whether you are a gentleman, a man of fashion, and fit to keep good company, or not; for, till I am satisfied in these particulars, you and I must by no means meet; I could not possibly stand it. It is in your power to become all this at Paris, if you please. Consult with Lady Hervey and Madame Monconseil * upon all these matters, and they will speak to you, and advise you freely. Tell them, that *bisogna compattare ancora*, that you are utterly new in the world, that you are desirous to form yourself, that you beg they will reprove, advise, and correct you, that you know that none can do it so well, and that you will implicitly follow their directions. This, together with

* Madame de Monconseil was a friend and correspondent of Lord Chesterfield. See in the Miscellaneous Correspondence a note on the first letter addressed to that lady, June 24, 1745.

your careful observation of the manners of the best company, will really form you.

Abbé Guasco,* a friend of mine, will come to you as soon as he knows of your arrival at Paris; he is well received in the best companies there, and will introduce you to them. He will be desirous to do you any service he can; he is active and curious, and can give you information upon most things. He is a sort of *complaisant* of the President Montesquieu, to whom you have a letter.

I imagine that this letter will not wait for you very long at Paris, where I reckon you will be in about a fortnight. Adieu!

à Londres, ce 24 Decembre, V.S. 1750.

MON CHER AMI,

Vous voilà à la fin Parisien, et il faut s'adresser à un Parisien en François. Vous voudrez bien aussi me répondre de même, puisque je serai bien aise de voir à quel point vous possédez l'élégance, la délicatesse, et l'orthographe de cette langue, qui est devenue, pour ainsi dire, la langue universelle de l'Europe. On m'assure que vous la parlez fort bien, mais il y a bien et bien. Et tel passera pour la bien parler hors de Paris, qui passeroit lui-même pour Gaulois à Paris. Dans ce pays des modes, le langage même a la sienne, et qui change presqu' aussi souvent que celle des habits.

* Octavien de Guasco, a native of Pignerol, in 1712 became a Canon of Tournay, and a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, to which he contributed several interesting essays. He was also the author of an *Histoire du Pape Clément V.*, and the translator of *Cantemir* into Italian; but these works have remained unpublished.

L'ufferté, le précieux, le néologique, y sont trop à la mode d'aujourd'hui. Connoissez les, remarquez les, et parlez les même, à la bonne heure, mais ne vous en laissez pas infecter. L'esprit aussi a sa mode, et actuellement à Paris, c'est la mode d'en avoir, en dépit même de Minerve; tout le monde court après l'esprit, qui par parenthèse ne se laisse jamais attraper; s'il ne se présente pas, on a beau courir. Mais malheureusement pour ceux qui courent après, ils attrapent quelque chose qu'ils prennent pour de l'esprit, et qu'ils donnent pour tel. C'est tout au plus la bonne fortune d'Ixion, c'est une vapeur qu'ils embrassent, au lieu de la déesse qu'ils poursuivent. De cette erreur résultent ces beaux sentimens qu'on n'a jamais senti, ces pensées fausses que la nature n'a jamais produite, et ces expressions entortillées et obscures, que non seulement on n'entend point, mais qu'on ne peut pas même déchiffrer ni deviner. C'est de tous ces ingrédiens que sont composés les deux tiers des nouveaux livres François qui paroissent. C'est la nouvelle cuisine du Parnasse, où l'alambic travaille au lieu du pot et de la broche, et où les quintessences et les extraits dominent. N. B. Le sel Attique en est banni.

Il vous faudra bien de tems en tems manger de cette nouvelle cuisine. Mais ne vous y laissez pas corrompre le goût. Et quand vous voudrez donner à manger à votre tour, étudiez la bonne vieille cuisine du tems de Louis Quatorze. Il y avoit alors des chefs admirables, comme Corneille, Boileau, Racine, et La Fontaine. Tout ce qu'ils apprêtoient étoit simple, sain, et solide. Sans métaphore, ne vous laissez pas éblouir par le faux brillant, le recherché, les antithèses à la mode; mais servez vous de votre propre bon sens, et

appelez les anciens à votre secours, pour vous en garantir. D'un autre côté, ne vous moquez pas de ceux, qui s'y sont laissés séduire; vous êtes encore trop jeune pour faire le critique, et pour vous ériger en vengeur sévère du bon sens lézé. Seulement ne vous laissez pas pervertir, mais ne songez pas à convertir les autres. Laissez les jouir tranquillement de leurs erreurs dans le goût, comme dans la religion. Le goût en France a depuis un siècle et demi, eu bien du haut et du bas, aussi bien que la France même. Le bon goût commença seulement à se faire jour, sous le regne, je ne dis pas de Louis Treize, mais du Cardinal de Richelieu, et fut encore épuré sous celui de Louis Quatorze, grand Roi au moins, s'il n'étoit pas grand homme. Corneille étoit le restaurateur du vrai, et le fondateur du théâtre François; se ressentant toujours un peu des *Concetti* des Italiens et des *Agudeze* des Espagnols; témoin les épigrammes qu'il fait débiter à Chimène dans tout l'excès de sa douleur.

Mais avant son tems, les Troubadours, et les Roman-ciers étoient autant de fous, qui trouvoient des sots pour les admirer. Vers la fin du regne du Cardinal de Richelieu, et au commencement de celui de Louis Quatorze, l'Hôtel de Rambouillet étoit le Temple du Goût, mais d'un goût pas encore tout à fait épuré. C'étoit plus-tot un laboratoire d'esprit, où l'on donnoit la torture au bon sens, pour en tirer une essence subtile. Voiture y travailloit, et suoit même à grosses gouttes pour faire de l'esprit. Mais enfin Boileau et Molière fixèrent le goût du vrai; en dépit des Scudery et des Calprenédes, &c. Ils déconfirent et mirent en fuite les Artamènes, les Jubas, les Oroondates, et tous ces héros de Romans, qui valoient pourtant chacun

seul une armée. Ces fous cherchèrent dans les bibliothèques un asyle qu'on leur refusa; et ils n'en trouvèrent que dans quelques ruelles. Je vous conseille pourtant de lire un tome de Cléopâtre et un de Clélie, sans quoi il vous sera impossible de vous former une idée de ces extravagances; mais Dieu vous garde d'aller jusqu'au douzième.

Le goût resta pur et vrai pendant presque tout le regne de Louis Quatorze, et jusqu'à ce qu'un très beau génie y donna (mais sans le vouloir) quelque atteinte. C'étoit Monsieur de Fontenelle,* qui avec tout l'esprit du monde, et un grand sçavoir, sacrifioit peutêtre un peu trop aux Graces, dont il étoit le nourrisson, et l'élève favori. Admiré avec raison, on voulut l'imiter: mais malheureusement pour le siècle, l'auteur des *Pastorales*, de l'*Histoire des Oracles*, et du *Théâtre François*, trouva moins d'imitateurs, que le Chevalier d'Her—ne trouva de singes. Contrefait depuis par mille auteurs, il n'a pas été imité que je sçache par un suel.

A l'heure qu'il est, l'empire du vrai goût ne me paroît pas trop bien affermi en France; il subsiste à la vérité, mais il est déchiré par des partis; il y a le parti des petits maîtres, celui des caillettes, celui des fades auteurs dont les ouvrages sont, *verba et voces et præterea nihil*, et enfin un parti nombreux et fort à la mode, d'auteurs qui débitent dans un galimatias métaphysique leurs faux raffinemens, sur les mouvemens et les sentimens *de l'ame, du cœur, et de l'esprit*.

* Bernard le Bouyer de Fontenelle was one of the very few eminent men who have attained their hundredth year. He was born at Rouen, February 11, 1657, and died at Paris, January 9, 1757. He is now chiefly remembered for his *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes*, of which Voltaire says very happily,

"L'ignorant l'entendit, le savant l'admira!"

Ne vous en laissez pas imposer par la mode ; ni par des cliques que vous pourrez fréquenter ; mais essayez toutes ces différentes espèces, avant que de les recevoir en paiement au coin du bon sens et de la raison ; et soyez bien persuadé que *rien n'est beau que le vrai*.^{*} Tout brillant qui ne résulte pas de la solidité et de la justesse de la pensée, n'est qu'un faux brillant. Le mot Italien sur le diamant est bien vrai à cet égard, *quanto piu sodezza, tanto piu splendore*.

Tout ceci n'empêche pas que vous ne deviez vous conformer extérieurement aux modes et aux tons des différentes compagnies où vous vous trouverez. Parlez épigrammes avec les petits maîtres, sentimens faux avec les caillettes, et galimatias avec les beaux esprits par état. A la bonne heure ; à votre âge, ce n'est pas à vous à donner le ton à la compagnie, mais au contraire à le prendre. Examinez bien pourtant, et pesez tout cela en vous même ; distinguez bien le faux du vrai, et ne prenez pas *le clinquant du Tasse pour l'or de Virgile*.†

Vous trouverez en même tems, à Paris, des auteurs et des compagnies très solides. Vous n'entendrez point des fadaïses, du précieux, du guindé, chez Madame de Monconseil, ni aux hôtels de Matignon et de Coigny, où elle vous présentera ; le President Montesquieu ne vous parlera pas *pointes*. Son livre de l'Esprit des Loix, écrit en langue vulgaire, vous plaira, et vous instruira également.

Fréquentez le théâtre quand on y jouera les pièces

^{*} An allusion to the line of Boileau in his *Epître au Marquis de Seignelay*,

"Rien n'est beau que le vrai ; le vrai seul est aimable."

† See the preceding letter of February 8, 1760.

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de Corneille, de Racine, et de Molière, où il n'y a que du naturel et du vrai. Je ne prétends pas par là donner l'exclusion à plusieurs pièces modernes qui sont admirables, et en dernier lieu, *Cécile*,* pièce pleine de sentimens, mais de sentimens vrais, naturels, et dans lesquels on se reconnoît. Voulez vous connoître les caractères du jour, lisez les ouvrages de Crébillon le fils, et de Marivaux. Le premier est un peintre excellent; le second a beaucoup étudié et connoît bien le cœur, peut-être même un peu trop.† *Les Egaremens du Cœur* et de *l'Esprit* par Crébillon est un livre excellent dans ce genre; les caractères y sont bien marqués; il vous amusera infiniment, et ne vous sera pas inutile. *L'Histoire Japonoise* de Tanzaï, et de Neadarné, du même auteur, est une aimable extravagance, et parsemée de réflexions très justes; enfin vous trouverez bien à Paris de quoi vous former un goût sûr et juste, pourvu que vous ne preniez pas le change.

Comme je vous laisse sur votre bonne foi à Paris sans surveillant, je me flatte que vous n'abuserez pas de ma confiance. Je ne demande pas que vous soyez Capucin; bien au contraire, je vous recommande les plaisirs, mais j'exige que ce soient les plaisirs d'un honnête homme. Ces plaisirs là donnent du brillant

* By Madame de Graffigny.—See Lord Chesterfield's Letter to Madame de Monconseil of November 1, 1750, Miscellaneous Correspondence.

† The judgment of Lord Chesterfield on these two writers, though fully agreeing with that of Horace Walpole, and other accomplished men among his contemporaries, has been by no means confirmed by posterity. Marivaux has given rise in France to the word *Marivaudage*, usually applied to any thing aukish or insipid; and most men of the present day, who have looked into the novels of Crébillon the Younger, will not think Mr. Macaulay too severe in calling him "a scribbler as licentious as Louvet, and as dull as Rapon!"—(*Edinburgh Review*, No. cxvii. p. 235.)

au caractère d'un jeune homme; mais la débauche avilit et dégrade. J'aurai des relations très vraies et détaillées de votre conduite, et selon ces relations je serai plus, ou moins, ou point du tout, à vous. Adieu!

P. S.—Ecrivez moi sans faute une fois la semaine, et répondez à celle-ci en François. Faufilez vous tant que vous le pourrez chez les ministres étrangers. C'est voyager en differens endroits sans changer de place. Parlez Italien à tous les Italiens, et Allemand à tous les Allemands que vous trouverez, pour entretenir ces deux langues.

Je vous souhaite, mon cher, autant de nouvelles années que vous mériterez, et pas une de plus. Mais puissiez vous en mériter un grand nombre!

London, January 3, O. S. 1731.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

By your letter of the 5th, N. S., I find that your *début* at Paris has been a good one; you are entered into good company, and I dare say you will not sink into bad. Frequent the houses where you have been once invited, and have none of that shyness which makes most of your countrymen strangers where they might be intimate and domestic if they pleased. Wherever you have a general invitation to sup when you please, profit of it with decency, and go every now and then. Lord Albemarle will, I am sure, be extremely kind to you; but his house is only a dinner house, and, as I am informed, frequented by no French people. Should he happen to employ you in his bureau, which I much doubt, you must write a

better hand than your common one, or you will get no great credit by your manuscripts; for your hand is at present an illiberal one; it is neither a hand of business nor of a gentleman, but the hand of a school-boy writing his exercise, which he hopes will never be read.

Madame de Monconseil gives me a favourable account of you, and so do Marquis de Matignon and Madame du Boccage;* they all say that you desire to please, and consequently promise me that you will: and they judge right; for whoever really desires to please, and has (as you now have) the means of learning how, certainly will please: and that is the great point of life; it makes all other things easy. Whenever you are with Madame de Monconseil, Madame du Boccage, or other women of fashion, with whom you are tolerably free, say frankly and naturally: *Je n'ai point d'usage du monde, j'y suis encore bien neuf, je souhaiterois ardemment de plaire, mais je ne sais guères comment m'y prendre; ayez la bonté, Madame, de me faire part de votre secret de plaire à tout le monde. J'en ferai ma fortune, et il vous en restera pourtant toujours plus qu'il ne vous en faut.* When, in consequence of this request, they shall tell you of any little error, awkwardness, or impropriety, you should not only feel but express the warmest acknowledgment. Though nature should suffer, and she will at first hearing them, tell them, *Que la critique la plus sévère, est à votre égard la preuve la plus marquée de leur amitié.* Madame du Boccage tells me particu-

* For an account of Madame du Boccage, see a note on the first letter addressed to her by Lord Chesterfield, June 14, 1750.—Miscellaneous Correspondence.

larly to inform you, *Qu'il me fera toujours plaisir et honneur de me venir voir ; il est vrai qu'à son âge le plaisir de causer est froid, mais je lacherai de lui faire connoissance avec des jeunes gens, &c.* Make use of this invitation, and as you live in a manner next door to her, step in and out there frequently. Monsieur du Boccage will go with you, he tells me, with great pleasure, to the plays, and point out to you whatever deserves your knowing there. This is worth your acceptance too, he has a very good taste. I have not yet heard from Lady Hervey upon your subject, but as you inform me that you have already supped with her once, I look upon you as adopted by her : consult her in all your little matters ; tell her any difficulties that may occur to you ; ask her what you should do or say in such or such cases ; she has *l'usage du monde en perfection*, and will help you to acquire it. Madame de Berkenrode *est pètrie de graces*, and your quotation is very applicable to her. You may be there, I dare say, as often as you please, and I would advise you to sup there once a week.

You say, very justly, that as Mr. Harte is leaving you, you shall want advice more than ever ; you shall never want mine : and as you have already had so much of it, I must rather repeat, than add to what I have already given you : but that I will do, and add to it occasionally, as circumstances may require. At present, I shall only remind you of your two great objects, which you should always attend to : they are Parliament and foreign affairs. With regard to the former, you can do nothing, while abroad, but attend carefully to the purity, correctness, and elegance of your diction, the clearness and gracefulness of your

utterance, in whatever language you speak. As for the Parliamentary knowledge, I will take care of that, when you come home. With regard to foreign affairs, everything you do abroad may and ought to tend that way. Your reading should be chiefly historical; I do not mean of remote, dark, and fabulous history, still less of jimcrack natural history of fossils, minerals, plants, &c., but I mean the useful, political, and constitutional history of Europe, for these last three centuries and a half. The other thing necessary for your foreign object, and not less necessary than either ancient or modern knowledge, is a great knowledge of the world, manners, politeness, address, and *le ton de la bonne compagnie*. In that view, keeping a great deal of good company is the principal point to which you are now to attend. It seems ridiculous to tell you, but it is most certainly true, that your dancing-master is at this time the man in all Europe of the greatest importance to you. You must dance well, in order to sit, stand, and walk well; and you must do all these well, in order to please. What with your exercises, some reading, and a great deal of company, your day is, I confess, extremely taken up; but the day, if well employed, is long enough for everything; and I am sure you will not slattern away one moment of it in inaction. At your age people have strong and active spirits, alacrity and vivacity in all they do; are *impigri*, indefatigable, and quick. The difference is, that a young fellow of parts exerts all those happy dispositions in the pursuit of proper objects; endeavours to excel in the solid, and in the showish parts of life: whereas a silly puppy, or a dull rogue, throws away all his youth and spirits upon trifles,

when he is serious, or upon disgraceful vices, while he aims at pleasures. This, I am sure, will not be your case; your good sense and your good conduct hitherto, are your guarantees with me for the future. Continue only at Paris as you have begun, and your stay there will make you, what I have always wished you to be; as near perfection as our nature permits.

Adieu, my dear; remember to write to me once a week, not as to a father, but without reserve as to a friend.

(January, 1751.)*

Your riding, fencing, and dancing, constantly, at the Academy, will, I hope, lengthen you out a little; therefore, pray take a great deal of those exercises: for I would very fain have you be, at least, five feet eight inches high, as Mr. Harte once wrote me word that he hoped you would. Mr. Pelham likewise told me, that you speak German and French as fluently and correctly as a Saxon or a Parisian. I am very glad of both: take care not to forget the former; there is no danger of your forgetting the latter. As I both thank and applaud you for having, hitherto, employed yourself so well abroad, I must again repeat to you, that the manner in which you shall now employ it, at Paris, will be finally decisive of your fortune, figure, and character in the world, and consequently of my esteem and kindness. Eight or nine months determine the whole; which whole is very near complete. It consists in this only: to retain and increase the

* This letter has hitherto been printed as a fragment at the end of this Correspondence, its date and its commencement having been accidentally lost: it appears, however, to have been written about January, 1751, very soon after Mr. Stanhope's arrival in Paris.

learning you have already acquired ; to add to it the still more useful knowledge of the World ; and to adorn both, with the manners, the address, the air, and the Graces of a Man of Fashion. Without the last, I will say of your youth and your knowledge, what Horace says to Venus ;

Parum comis sine te Juventas,
Mercuriusque.

The two great subjects of conversation now at Paris are, the dispute between the Crown and the Clergy, and between the Crown and the States of Brittany ; inform yourself thoroughly of both ; which will let you into the most material parts of the French history and constitution. There are four letters printed, and very well written, against the pretended rights and immunities of the Clergy ; to which there is an Answer, very well written too, in defence of those immunities. Read them both with attention ; and also all representations, memorials, and whatever shall appear, for or against the claims of the States of Brittany. I dare say, that ninety-nine in a hundred, of the English at Paris, do not give themselves the trouble of inquiring into those disputes ; but content themselves with saying, that there is a confounded bustle and rout between the King and the Priests, and between the King and the States of Brittany ; but that, for their parts, they do not trouble their heads about them ; fight Dog, fight Bear : but, with submission to them, these are objects worthy the attention and inquiries of a man of sense and business.

Adieu, my dear child ! Yours tenderly.

London, January 14, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AMONG the many good things Mr. Harte has told me of you, two in particular gave me great pleasure. The first, that you are exceedingly careful and jealous of the dignity of your character: that is the sure and solid foundation upon which you must both stand and rise. A man's moral character is a more delicate thing than a woman's reputation of chastity. A slip or two may possibly be forgiven her, and her character may be clarified by subsequent and continued good conduct: but a man's moral character once tainted, is irreparably destroyed. The second was, that you had acquired a most correct and extensive knowledge of foreign affairs, such as the history, the treaties, and the forms of government of the several countries of Europe. This sort of knowledge, little attended to here, will make you not only useful, but necessary, in your future destination, and carry you very far. He added, that you wanted from hence some books relative to our laws and constitution, our colonies, and our commerce; of which you know less than of those of any other part of Europe. I will send you what short books I can find of that sort, to give you a general notion of those things; but you cannot have time to go into their depths at present, you cannot now engage with new folios; you and I will refer the constitutional part of this country to our meeting here, when we will enter seriously into it, and read the necessary books together. In the mean time, go on in the course you are in of foreign matters; converse with Ministers and others of every country, watch the transactions of every Court, and endeavour to trace them up to their

source. This, with your physics, your geometry, and your exercises, will be all that you can possibly have time for at Paris; for you must allow a great deal for company and pleasures: it is they that must give you those manners, that address, that *tournure* of the *beau monde*, which will qualify you for your future destination. You must first please, in order to get the confidence, and consequently the secrets of the Courts and Ministers for whom and with whom you negotiate.

I will send you by the first opportunity, a short book written by Lord Bolingbroke, under the name of Sir John Oldeastle, containing remarks upon the History of England; which will give you a clear general notion of our constitution, and which will serve you, at the same time (like all Lord Bolingbroke's works), for a model of eloquence and style.* I will send you Sir Josiah Childe's little book upon trade, which may properly be called the Commercial Grammar. He lays down the true principles of commerce, and his conclusions from them are generally very just.

Since you turn your thoughts a little towards trade and commerce, which I am very glad you do, I will recommend a French book to you, that you will easily get at Paris, and which I take to be the best book in the world of that kind; I mean the *Dictionnaire de Commerce de Savary*, in three volumes in folio; where you will find everything that relates to trade, commerce, specie, exchange, &c. most clearly stated; and not only relative to France, but to the whole world.

* On this point Lord Chesterfield's opinion entirely coincides with Lord Chatham's, who at nearly the same period (May 4, 1754) writes as follows to his nephew: "Oldeastle's Remarks to be studied and "almost got by heart for the inimitable beauty of the style as well "as the matter."—Correspondence, vol. i. p. 109.

You will easily suppose, that I do not advise you to read such a book *tout de suite*; but I only mean that you should have it at hand to have recourse to occasionally.

With this great stock of both useful and ornamental knowledge, which you have already acquired, and which, by your application and industry, you are daily increasing, you will lay such a solid foundation of future figure and fortune, that, if you complete it by all the accomplishments of manners, graces, &c. I know nothing which you may not aim at, and, in time, hope for. Your great point at present at Paris, to which all other considerations must give way, is to become entirely a man of fashion; to be well-bred without ceremony, easy without negligence, steady and intrepid with modesty, genteel without affectation, insinuating without meanness, cheerful without being noisy, frank without indiscretion, and secret without any mysteriousness; to know the proper time and place for whatever you say or do, and to do it with an air of *condition*: all this is not so soon nor so easily learned as people imagine, but requires observation and time. The world is an immense folio, which demands a great deal of time and attention to be read and understood as it ought to be: you have not yet read above four or five pages of it; and you will have but barely time to dip now and then in other less important books.

Lord Albemarle has (I know) wrote to a friend of his here, that you do not frequent him so much as he expected and desired; that he fears somebody or other has given you wrong impressions of him; and that I may possibly think, from your being seldom at his

house, that he has been wanting in his attentions to you. I told the person who told me this, that, on the contrary, you seemed, by your letters to me, to be extremely pleased with Lord Albemarle's behaviour to you; but that you were obliged to give up dining abroad, during your course of experimental philosophy. I guessed the true reason, which I believe was, that, as no French people frequent his house, you rather choose to dine at other places; where you were likely to meet with better company than your countrymen; and you were in the right of it. However, I would have you show no shyness to Lord Albemarle, but go to him, and dine with him oftener than it may be you would wish; for the sake of having him speak well of you here when he returns. He is a good deal in fashion here, and his *puffing* you (to use an awkward expression) before your return here, will be of great use to you afterwards. People in general take characters, as they do most things, upon trust, rather than be at the trouble of examining them themselves; and the decisions of four or five fashionable people, in every place, are final, more particularly with regard to characters, which all can hear, and but few judge of. Do not mention the least of this to any mortal, and take care that Lord Albemarle do not suspect that you know anything of the matter.

Lord Huntingdon and Lord Stormont* are, I hear, arrived at Paris; you have, doubtless, seen them. Lord Stormont is well spoken of here. However, in

* David Murray succeeded, in 1748, as seventh Viscount Stormont. He afterwards filled various high public offices, as Ambassador to Paris and Secretary of State; and on the death of his uncle, in 1792, became the second Earl of Mansfield. He died in 1796.

your connections, if you form any with them, show rather a preference to Lord Huntingdon, for reasons which you will easily guess.

Mr. Harte goes this week to Cornwall, to take possession of his living. He has been installed at Windsor. He will return hither in about a month, when your literary correspondence with him will be regularly carried on. Your mutual concern at parting was a good sign for both.

I have this moment received good accounts of you from Paris. Go on, *vous êtes en bon train*. Adieu!

London, January 21, O. S. 1761.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

In all my letters from Paris, I have the pleasure of finding, among many other good things, your docility mentioned with emphasis. This is the sure way of improving in those things, which you only want. It is true, they are little; but it is as true, *too*, that they are necessary things. As they are mere matters of usage and mode, it is no disgrace for anybody of your age to be ignorant of them; and the most *conspicuous* way of learning them is, fairly to avow your ignorance, and to consult those who, from long usage and experience, know them best. *Good sense*, and good nature, suggest civility in general; but, in *good breeding*, there are a thousand little *decorations*, which are introduced only by custom; and it is these little elegances of manners which distinguish a *gentleman* and a man of fashion from the vulgar. I am assured, by different people, that your air is already much improved; and one of my correspondents makes you the

true French compliment of saying, *J'ose vous promettre qu'il sera bientôt comme un de nous autres*. However unbecoming this speech may be in the mouth of a Frenchman, I am very glad that they think it applicable to you; for I would have you not only adopt, but rival, the best manners and usages of the place you are at, be they what they will—that is the versatility of manners, which is so useful in the course of the world. Choose your models well at Paris, and then rival them in their own way. There are fashionable words, phrases, and even gestures at Paris, which are called *du bon ton*: not to mention *certaines petites politesses et attentions, qui ne sont rien en elles mêmes*, which fashion has rendered necessary. Make yourself master of all these things, and to such a degree as to make the French say, *qu'on diroit que c'est un François*: and when hereafter you shall be at other Courts, do the same thing there, and conform to the fashionable manners and usage of the place; that is what the French themselves are not apt to do: wherever they go, they retain their own manners, as thinking them the best; but granting them to be so, they are still in the wrong, not to conform to those of the place. One would desire to please, wherever one is; and nothing is more innocently flattering, than an approbation, and an imitation of the people one converses with.

I hope your colleges with Marcel* go on prosperously. In those ridiculous, though, at the same time,

* The most celebrated dancing-master of his day. He once exclaimed, in a transport of enthusiasm real or pretended, *Que de choeurs dans un menuet!* On another occasion, he said to one of his English pupils, *Monsieur, on soute dans les autres pays: on ne danse qu'à Paris!*

really important lectures, pray attend; and desire your professor also to attend more particularly to the chapter of the arms. It is they that decide a man's being genteel or otherwise, more than any other part of the body. A twist, or stiffness in the wrist, will make any man in Europe look awkward. The next thing to be attended to, is your coming into a room, and presenting yourself to a company. This gives the first impression; and the first impression is often a lasting one. Therefore, pray desire Professor Marcel to make you come in and go out of his room frequently, and in the supposition of different companies being there, such as ministers, women, mixed companies, &c. Those who present themselves well have a certain dignity in their air, which, without the least seeming mixture of pride, at once engages, and is respected.

I should not so often repeat, nor so long dwell upon such trifles, with anybody that had less solid and valuable knowledge than you have. Frivolous people attend to those things *par préférence*; they know nothing else; my fear with you is, that, from knowing better things, you should despise these too much, and think them of much less consequence than they really are; for they are of a great deal, and more especially to you.

Pleasing, and governing women, may in time be of great service to you. They often please and govern others. *A propos*: are you in love with Madame de Berkenrode still, or has some other taken her place in your affections? I take it for granted, that *quel que domat Venus, non erubescendis adurit apudus*. Un arrangement honnête n'est bien à un galant homme.

In that case, I recommend you to the utmost discretion, and the profoundest silence. Bragging of, hinting at, intimating, or even affectedly disclaiming and denying such an *arrangement*, will equally discredit you among men and women. An unaffected silence upon that subject is the only true medium.

In your commerce with women, and indeed with men too, *une certaine douceur* is particularly engaging; it is that which constitutes that character, which the French talk of so much, and so justly value; I mean *l'aimable*. This *douceur* is not so easily described as felt. It is the compound result of different things: a complaisance, a flexibility, but not a servility of manners; an air of softness in the countenance, gesture, and expression; equally, whether you concur or differ with the person you converse with. Observe those carefully, who have that *douceur*, which charms you and others; and your own good sense will soon enable you to discover the different ingredients of which it is composed. You must be more particularly attentive to this *douceur*, whenever you are obliged to refuse what is asked of you, or to say what in itself cannot be very agreeable to those to whom you say it. It is then the necessary gilding of a disagreeable pill. *L'aimable* consists in a thousand of these little things aggregately. It is the *suariter in modo*, which I have so often recommended to you. The *respectable*, Mr. Harte assures me, you do not want, and I believe him. Study then carefully, and acquire perfectly the *aimable*, and you will have everything.

Abbé Guasco, who is another of your panegyrists, writes me word, that he has taken you to dinner at Marquis de St. Germain's; where you will be welcome

as often as you please, and the oftener the better. Profit of that, upon the principle of travelling in different countries, without changing places. He says too, that he will take you to the Parliament, when any remarkable cause is to be tried. That is very well; go through the several chambers of the Parliament, and see and hear what they are doing; join practice and observation to your theoretical knowledge of their rights and privileges. No Englishman has the least notion of them.

I need not recommend you to go to the bottom of the constitutional and political knowledge of countries; for Mr. Harte tells me, that you have a peculiar turn that way, and have informed yourself most correctly of them.

I must now put some queries to you, as to a *juris publici peritus*, which I am sure you can answer me, and which I own I cannot answer myself: they are upon a subject now much talked of.

1st, Are there any particular forms requisite for the election of a King of the Romans, different from those which are necessary for the election of an Emperor?

2dly, Is not a King of the Romans as legally elected by the votes of a majority of the Electors, as by two-thirds, or by the unanimity of the Electors?

3dly, Is there any particular law or constitution of the empire that distinguishes, either in matter or in form, the election of a King of the Romans from that of an Emperor? And is not the Golden Bull of Charles the Fourth equally the rule for both?

4thly, Were there not, at a meeting of a certain number of the Electors (I have forgot when) some rules and limitations agreed upon concerning the

election of a King of the Romans? and were those restrictions legal, and did they obtain the force of law?

How happy am I, my dear child, that I can apply to you for knowledge, and with a certainty of being rightly informed! It is knowledge, more than quick, flashy parts, that makes a man of business. A man who is master of his matter will, with inferior parts, be too hard in Parliament, and indeed anywhere else, for a man of better parts, who knows his subject but superficially: and if to his knowledge he joins eloquence and elocution, he must necessarily soon be at the head of that assembly; but without those two, no knowledge is sufficient.

Lord Huntingdon writes me word he has seen you, and that you have renewed your old school acquaintance. Tell me fairly your opinion of him, and of his friend Lord Stormont; and also of the other English people of fashion you meet with. I promise you inviolable secrecy on my part. You and I must now write to each other as friends, and without the least reserve; there will for the future be a thousand things in my letters, which I would not have any mortal living but yourself see or know. Those you will easily distinguish, and neither show nor repeat; and I will do the same by you.

To come to another subject, for I have a pleasure in talking over every subject with you: How deep are you in Italian? Do you understand Ariosto, Tasso, Boccaccio, and Machiavelli? If you do, you know enough of it, and may know all the rest, by reading, when you have time. Little or no business is written in Italian, except in Italy; and if you know enough of it to understand the few Italian letters that may in

time come in your way, and to speak Italian tolerably, to those very few Italians who speak no French, give yourself no farther trouble about that language, till you happen to have full leisure to perfect yourself in it. It is not the same with regard to German; your speaking and writing that well, will particularly distinguish you from every other man in England; and is, moreover, of great use to any one who is, as probably you will be, employed in the empire. Therefore, pray cultivate it sedulously, by writing four or five lines of German every day, and by speaking it to every German you meet with.

You have now got a footing in a great many good houses at Paris, in which I advise you to make yourself domestic. This is to be done by a certain easiness of carriage, and a decent familiarity. Not by way of putting yourself upon the frivolous footing of being *sans conséquence*, but by doing in some degree, the honours of the house and table, calling yourself *en badinant, le galopin d'ici*, saying to the master or mistress, *ceci est de mon département, je m'en charge, avouez que je m'en acquitte à merveille*. This sort of *badinage* has something engaging and *liant* in it, and begets that decent familiarity, which it is both agreeable and useful to establish in good houses, and with people of fashion. Mere formal visits, dinners, and suppers, upon formal invitations, are not the thing; they add to no connection nor information; but it is the easy, careless ingress and egress, at all hours, that forms the pleasing and profitable commerce of life.

The post is so negligent, that I lose some letters from Paris entirely, and receive others much later than I should. To this I ascribe my having received

no letter from you for above a fortnight, which, to my impatience, seems a long time. I expect to hear from you once a week. Mr. Harte is gone to Cornwall, and will be back in about three weeks. I have a packet of books to send you by the first opportunity, which, I believe, will be Mr. Yorke's return to Paris. The Greek books come from Mr. Harte, and the English ones from your humble servant.

Read Lord Bolingbroke's with great attention, as well to the style as to the matter. I wish you could form yourself such a style in every language. Style is the dress of thoughts; and a well-dressed thought, like a well-dressed man, appears to great advantage. Yours. Adieu!

London, January 28, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

A BILL for ninety pounds sterling, was brought me, the other day, said to be drawn upon me by you; I scrupled paying it at first, not upon account of the sum, but because you had sent me no letter of advice, which is always done in those transactions; and still more, because I did not perceive that you had signed it. The person who presented it, desired me to look again, and that I should discover your name at the bottom; accordingly I looked again, and with the help of my magnifying glass, did perceive, that what I had first taken only for somebody's mark was, in truth, your name, written in the worst and smallest hand I ever saw in my life. I cannot write quite so ill, but it was something like this, *Philip Starhope*. However, I paid it at a venture; though I would almost rather lose the money, than that such a signa-

ture should be yours. All gentlemen, and all men of business, write their names always in the same way, that their signature may be so well known as not to be easily counterfeited; and they generally sign in rather a larger character than their common hand; whereas your name was in a less, and a worse, than your common writing. This suggested to me the various accidents which may very probably happen to you, while you write so ill. For instance, if you were to write in such a character to the Secretary's office, your letter would immediately be sent to the decipherer, as containing matters of the utmost secrecy, not fit to be trusted to the common character. If you were to write so to an antiquarian, he (knowing you to be a man of learning) would certainly try it by the Runic, Celtic, or Slavonian alphabet; never suspecting it to be a modern character. And, if you were to send a *poulet* to a fine woman, in such a hand, she would think that it really came from the *poulaillier*, which, by the bye, is the etymology of the word, *poulet*; for Henry the Fourth of France used to send *billets-doux* to his mistresses, by his *poulaillier*, under pretence of sending them chickens; which gave the name of *poulets* to those short, but expressive, manuscripts. I have often told you, that every man, who has the use of his eyes and of his hand, can write whatever hand he pleases; and it is plain that you can, since you write both the Greek and German characters, which you never learned of a writing-master, extremely well, though your common hand, which you learned of a master, is an exceeding bad and illiberal one, equally unfit for business or common use. I do not desire that you should write the laboured, stiff

character of a writing-master: a man of business must write quick and well, and that depends singly upon use. I would therefore advise you to get some very good writing-master at Paris, and apply to it for a month only, which will be sufficient; for, upon my word, the writing of a genteel plain hand of business is of much more importance than you think. You will say, it may be, that when you write so very ill, it is because you are in a hurry: to which I answer, Why are you ever in a hurry? a man of sense may be in haste, but can never be in a hurry, because he knows, that whatever he does in a hurry he must necessarily do very ill. He may be in haste to dispatch an affair, but he will take care not to let that haste hinder his doing it well. Little minds are in a hurry, when the object proves (as it commonly does) too big for them: they run, they hare, they puzzle, confound, and perplex, themselves; they want to do everything at once, and never do it at all. But a man of sense takes the time necessary for doing the thing he is about well: and his haste to dispatch a business, only appears by the continuity of his application to it: he pursues it with a cool steadiness, and finishes it before he begins any other. I own your time is much taken up, and you have a great many different things to do; but remember, that you had much better do half of them well, and leave the other half undone, than do them all indifferently. Moreover, the few seconds that are saved in the course of the day, by writing ill instead of well, do not amount to an object of time, by any means equivalent to the disgrace or ridicule of writing the scrawl of a common w——. Consider, that if your very bad writing could

furnish me with matter of ridicule, what will it not do to others, who do not view you in that partial light that I do. There was a Pope, I think it was Pope Chigi, who was justly ridiculed for his attention to little things,* and his inability in great ones; and therefore called *maximus in minimis*, and *minimus in maximis*. Why? Because he attended to little things, when he had great ones to do. At this particular period of your life, and at the place you are now in, you have only little things to do; and you should make it habitual to you to do them well, that they may require no attention from you when you have, as I hope you will have, greater things to mind. Make a good hand-writing familiar to you now, that you may hereafter have nothing but your matter to think of, when you have occasion to write to Kings and Ministers. Dance, dress, present yourself, habitually well now, that you may have none of those little things to think of hereafter, and which will be all necessary to be done well occasionally, when you will have greater things to do.

As I am eternally thinking of everything that can be relative to you, one thing has occurred to me which I think necessary to mention, in order to prevent the difficulties which it might otherwise lay you under: it is this; as you get more acquaintances at Paris, it will be impossible for you to frequent your first acquaintances so much as you did while you had no others. As for example, at your first *début* I suppose you were chiefly at Madame Monconseil's, Lady Hervey's, and Madame du Boccage's. Now that you have got so many other houses, you cannot be at

* See the letter of August 10, 1749.

theirs so often as you used; but pray take care not to give them the least reason to think that you neglect or despise them for the sake of new and more dignified and shining acquaintances, which would be ungrateful and imprudent on your part, and never forgiven on theirs. Call upon them often, though you do not stay with them so long as formerly; tell them that you are sorry you are obliged to go away, but that you have such and such engagements, with which good-breeding obliges you to comply; and insinuate that you would rather stay with them. In short, take care to make as many personal friends, and as few personal enemies as possible. I do not mean, by personal friends, intimate and confidential friends, of which no man can hope to have half-a-dozen in the whole course of his life; but I mean friends in the common acceptation of the word, that is, people who speak well of you, and who would rather do you good than harm, consistently with their own interest and no farther. Upon the whole, I recommend to you, again and again, *les Graces*. Adorned by them, you may, in a manner, do what you please; it will be approved of: without them, your best qualities will lose half their efficacy. Endeavour to be fashionable among the French, which will soon make you fashionable here. Monsieur de Matignon already calls you *le petit François*. If you can get that name generally at Paris it will put you *à la mode*. Adieu! my dear child.

London, February 4, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE accounts which I receive of you from Paris grow every day more and more satisfactory. Lord Albemarle has wrote a sort of panegyric of you, which has been seen by many people here, and which will be a very useful forerunner for you. Being in fashion is an important point for anybody anywhere, but it would be a very great one for you to be established in the fashion here before you return. Your business would be half done by it, as I am sure you would not give people reason to change their favourable presentiments of you. The good that is said of you will not, I am convinced, make you a coxcomb; and, on the other hand, the being thought still to want some little accomplishments will, I am persuaded, not mortify you, but only animate you to acquire them: I will, therefore, give you both fairly in the following extract of a letter which I lately received from an impartial and discerning friend.

“J’ose vous assurer que Monsieur Stanhope réussira.
“Il a un grand fond de sçavoir, et une mémoire prodigieuse, sans faire parade de l’un ou de l’autre. Il
“cherche à plaire, et il plaira. Il a de la physionomie; sa figure est jolie quoique petite. Il n’a rien
“de gauche, quoiqu’il n’aie pas encore toutes les graces
“requises, que Marcel et les femmes lui donneront
“bientôt. Enfin il ne lui manque que ce qui devoit
“nécessairement lui manquer à son age; je veux dire,
“les usages, et une certaine délicatesse dans les manières,
“qui ne s’acquièrent que par le tems et la bonne compagnie. Avec son esprit, il les prendra bientôt, il y

"a déjà fait des progrès, et il fréquente les compagnies
"les plus propres à les lui donner."

By this extract, which I can assure you is a faithful one, you and I have both of us the satisfaction of knowing how much you have and how little you want. Let what you have give you (if possible) rather more *seeming* modesty, but at the same time more interior firmness and assurance; and let what you want, which you see is very attainable, redouble your attention and endeavours to acquire it. You have, in truth, but that one thing to apply to, and a very pleasing application it is, since it is through pleasures that you must arrive at it. Company, suppers, balls, *spectacles*, which show you the models upon which you should form yourself, and all the little usages, customs, and delicacies which you must adopt, and make habitual to you, are now your only schools and universities; in which young fellows and fine women will give you the best lectures.

Monsieur du Boccage is another of your panegyrists; and he tells me that Madame du Boccage *a pris avec vous le ton de mie et de bonne*; and that you like it very well. You are in the right of it; it is the way of improving: endeavour to be upon that footing with every woman you converse with; excepting where there may be a tender point of connection; a point which I have nothing to do with: but if such a one there is, I hope she has not *de mauvais ni de vilains bras*, which I agree with you in thinking a very disagreeable thing.

I have sent you, by the opportunity of Pollock the courier, who was once my servant, two little parcels of Greek and English books; and shall send you two more by Mr. Yorke: but I accompany them with this

caution ; that, as you have not much time to read, you should employ it in reading what is the most necessary ; and that is, indisputably, modern historical, geographical, chronological, and political knowledge ; the present constitution, maxims, force, riches, trade, commerce, characters, parties, and cabals of the several Courts of Europe. Many who are reckoned good scholars, though they know pretty accurately the governments of Athens and Rome, are totally ignorant of the constitution of any one country now in Europe, even of their own. Read just Latin and Greek enough to keep up your classical learning, which will be an ornament to you while young and a comfort to you when old. But the true useful knowledge, and especially for you, is the modern knowledge above-mentioned. It is that which must qualify you both for domestic and foreign business, and it is to that, therefore, that you should principally direct your attention ; and I know, with great pleasure, that you do so. I would not thus commend you to yourself, if I thought commendations would have upon you those ill effects, which they frequently have upon weak minds. I think you are much above being a vain coxcomb, overrating your own merit, and insulting others with the superabundance of it. On the contrary, I am convinced, that the consciousness of merit makes a man of sense more modest, though more firm. A man who displays his own merit is a coxcomb, and a man who does not know it is a fool. A man of sense knows it, exerts it, avails himself of it, but never boasts of it ; and always *seems* rather to under than overvalue it, though, in truth, he sets the right value upon it. It is a very true maxim of La Bruyère's (an author well

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worth your studying) *qu'on ne veut dans ce monde, que ce que l'on veut valoir*. A man who is really diffident, timid, and bashful, be his merit what it will, never can push himself in the world; his despondency throws him into inaction; and the forward, the bustling, and the petulant will always get the better of him. The manner makes the whole difference. What would be impudence in one man, is only a proper and decent assurance in another. A man of sense, and of knowledge of the world, will assert his own rights and pursue his own objects as steadily and intrepidly as the most impudent man living, and commonly more so; but then he has art enough to give an outward air of modesty to all he does. This engages and prevails, whilst the very same things shock and fail, from the overbearing or impudent manner only of doing them. I repeat my maxim, *suaviter in modo sed fortiter in re*. Would you know the characters, modes, and manners of the latter end of the last age, which are very like those of the present, read La Bruyère. But would you know man, independently of modes, read La Rochefoucault, who, I am afraid, paints him very exactly.

Give the enclosed to Abbé Guasco, of whom you make good use, to go about with you, and see things. Between you and me, he has more knowledge than parts. *Mais un habile homme sçait tirer parti de tout*; and everybody is good for something. President Montesquieu is, in every sense, a most useful acquaintance. He has parts joined to great reading and knowledge of the world. *Puisez dans cette source tant que vous pourrez*.

Adieu! May the Graces attend you; for without

them *ogni fatica è vana*. If they do not come to you willingly, ravish them, and force them to accompany all you think, all you say, and all you do.

London, February 11, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WHEN you go to the play, which I hope you do often, for it is a very instructive amusement, you must certainly have observed the very different effects which the several parts have upon you, according as they are well or ill acted. The very best tragedy of Corneille's, if well spoken and acted, interests, engages, agitates, and affects your passions. Love, terror, and pity, alternately possess you. But if ill spoken and acted, it would only excite your indignation or your laughter. Why? It is still Corneille's; it is the same sense, the same matter, whether well or ill acted. It is then merely the manner of speaking and acting that makes this great difference in the effects. Apply this to yourself, and conclude from it, that if you would either please in a private company, or persuade in a public assembly, air, looks, gestures, graces, enunciation, proper accents, just emphasis, and tuneful cadences, are full as necessary as the matter itself. Let awkward, ungraceful, inelegant, and dull fellows, say what they will in behalf of their solid matter, and strong reasonings; and let them despise all those graces and ornaments, which engage the senses and captivate the heart; they will find (though they will possibly wonder why) that their rough unpolished matter, and their unadorned, coarse, but strong arguments, will neither please nor persuade; but, on the contrary, will

tire out attention, and excite disgust. We are so made, we love to be pleased, better than to be informed; information is, in a certain degree, mortifying, as it implies our previous ignorance; it must be sweetened to be palatable.

To bring this directly to you; know that no man can make a figure in this country, but by Parliament. Your fate depends upon your success there as a speaker; and, take my word for it, that success turns much more upon manner than matter. Mr. Pitt,* and Mr. Murray, the Solicitor-General,† uncle to Lord Stormont, are, beyond comparison, the best speakers; why? Only because they are the best orators. They alone can inflame or quiet the House; they alone are so attended to, in that numerous and noisy assembly, that you might hear a pin fall while either of them is speaking. Is it that their matter is better, or their arguments stronger, than other people's? Does the House expect extraordinary informations from them? Not in the least; but the House expects pleasure from them, and therefore attends; finds it, and therefore approves. Mr. Pitt, particularly, has very little Parliamentary knowledge; his matter is generally flimsy, and his arguments often weak: but his eloquence is superior, his action graceful, his enunciation just and harmonious; his periods are well turned, and every word he makes use of is the very best, and the most expressive that can be used in that place. This, and not his matter, made him Pay-master, in spite of both King and Ministers. From this, draw the obvious conclusion. The same thing holds full as true in con-

* William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham.

† William Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield.

versation ; where even trifles, elegantly expressed, well looked, and accompanied with graceful action, will ever please, beyond all the home-spun, unadorned sense in the world. Reflect, on one side, how you feel within yourself, while you are forced to suffer the tedious, muddy, and ill-turned narration of some awkward fellow, even though the fact may be interesting ; and on the other hand, with what pleasure you attend to the relation of a much less interesting matter, when elegantly expressed, genteelly turned, and gracefully delivered. By attending carefully to all these *agrémens* in your daily conversation, they will become habitual to you, before you come into Parliament ; and you will have nothing then to do, but to raise them a little when you come there. I would wish you to be so attentive to this object, that I would not have you speak to your footman, but in the very best words that the subject admits of, be the language which it will. Think of your words, and of their arrangement, before you speak ; choose the most elegant, and place them in the best order. Consult your own ear, to avoid cacophony ; and what is very near as bad, monotony. Think also of your gesture and looks, when you are speaking even upon the most trifling subjects. The same things differently expressed, looked, and delivered, cease to be the same things. The most passionate lover in the world cannot make a stronger declaration of love, than the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme** does in this happy form of words, *Mourir d'amour me font belle Marquise vos beaux yeux*. I defy anybody to say more ; and yet I would advise nobody to say that ; and I would recommend

* Of Molière (act ii. scene 6).

to you, rather to smother and conceal your passion entirely than to reveal it in these words. Seriously, this holds in everything, as well as in that ludicrous instance. The French, to do them justice, attend very minutely to the purity, the correctness and the elegance of their style, in conversation, and in their letters. *Bien narrer* is an object of their study; and though they sometimes carry it to affectation, they never sink into inelegancy, which is much the worst extreme of the two. Observe them, and form your French style upon theirs; for elegance in one language will re-produce itself in all. I knew a young man, who being just elected a Member of Parliament, was laughed at for being discovered, through the key-hole of his chamber-door, speaking to himself in the glass, and forming his looks and gestures. I could not join in that laugh; but on the contrary, thought him much wiser than those who laughed at him; for he knew the importance of those little graces in a public assembly, and they did not. Your little person, (which I am told by the way is not ill-turned) whether in a laced coat, or a blanket, is specifically the same; but yet, I believe, you choose to wear the former; and you are in the right, for the sake of pleasing more. The worst-bred man in Europe, if a lady let fall her fan, would certainly take it up and give it her: the best-bred man in Europe, could do no more. The difference however would be considerable; the latter would please by doing it gracefully; the former would be laughed at for doing it awkwardly. I repeat it, and repeat it again, and shall never cease repeating it to you; air, manners, graces, style, elegance, and all those ornaments, must now be the only objects of your at-

tention; it is now, or never, that you must acquire them. Postpone, therefore, all other considerations; make them now your serious study: you have not one moment to lose. The solid and the ornamental united, are undoubtedly best; but were I reduced to make an option, I should, without hesitation, choose the latter.

I hope you assiduously frequent Marcel, and carry graces from him; nobody had more to spare than he had formerly. Have you learned to carve? for it is ridiculous not to carve well. A man who tells you gravely that he cannot carve, may as well tell you that he cannot blow his nose; it is both as necessary and as easy.

Make my compliments to Lord Huntingdon, whom I love and honour extremely, as I dare say you do; I will write to him soon, though I believe he has hardly time to read a letter; and my letters to those I love are, as you know by experience, not very short ones: this is one proof of it, and this would have been longer, if the paper had been so. Good night then, my dear child.

London, February 28, O. S. 1761.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THIS epigram in Martial,

*Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare,
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te;*

has puzzled a great many people; who cannot conceive how it is possible not to love anybody, and yet not to know the reason why. I think I conceive Martial's meaning very clearly, though the nature of epigram, which is to be short, would not allow him

to explain it more fully; and I take it to be this, *O Scidix*, you are a very worthy deserving man; you have a thousand good qualities, you have a great deal of learning; I esteem, I respect, but for the soul of me I cannot love you, though I cannot particularly say why. You are not amiable; you have not those engaging manners, those pleasing attentions, those graces, and that address, which are absolutely necessary to please, though impossible to define. I cannot say it is this or that particular thing that hinders me from loving you, it is the whole together; and upon the whole you are not agreeable. How often have I, in the course of my life, found myself in this situation, with regard to many of my acquaintance, whom I have honoured and respected, without being able to love? I did not know why, because, when one is young, one does not take the trouble, nor allow one's-self the time, to analyse one's sentiments, and to trace them up to their source. But subsequent observation and reflection have taught me why. There is a man, whose moral character, deep learning, and superior parts, I acknowledge, admire, and respect; but whom it is so impossible for me to love, that I am almost in a fever whenever I am in his company. His figure (without being deformed) seems made to disgrace or ridicule the common structure of the human body. His legs and arms are never in the position which, according to the situation of his body, they ought to be in; but constantly employed in committing acts of hostility upon the Graces. He throws anywhere, but down his throat, whatever he means to drink; and only mangles what he means to carve. Inattentive to all the regards of social life, he mis-times or mis-places everything.

He disputes with heat, and indiscriminately; mindless of the rank, character, and situation of those with whom he disputes: absolutely ignorant of the several gradations of familiarity or respect; he is exactly the same to his superiors, his equals, and his inferiors; and therefore, by a necessary consequence, absurd to two of the three. Is it possible to love such a man? No. The utmost I can do for him, is to consider him a respectable Hottentot.*

I remember that when I came from Cambridge, I had acquired, among the pedants of that illiberal seminary a sauciness of literature, a turn to satire and contempt, and a strong tendency to argumentation and contradiction. But I had been but a very little in the world, before I found that this would by no means do; and I immediately adopted the opposite character: I concealed what learning I had; I applauded often, without approving; and I yielded commonly, without conviction. *Suaviter in modo* was my Law and my Prophets; and if I pleased (between you and me) it was much more owing to that, than to any superior knowledge or merit of my own. *A propos*, the word *pleasing* puts one always in mind of Lady Hervey: pray tell her, that I de-

* This character has been generally understood as meant for Dr. Johnson: "I have no doubt that it was," says Boswell. . . . "I have heard Johnson himself talk of the character, and say that it was meant for George Lord Lyttelton, in which I could by no means agree; for his Lordship had nothing of that violence which is a conspicuous feature in the composition. Finding that my illustrious friend could bear to have it supposed that it might be meant for him, I said laughingly that there was one trait which unquestionably did not belong to him,—*he throws his meat anywhere but down his throat*. "'Sir,' said he, 'Lord Chesterfield never saw me eat in his life!'"—*Life of Dr. Johnson*, ad ann. 1764, vol. i. p. 173, ed. 1818.

clare her responsible to me for your pleasing: that I consider her as a pleasing Falstaff, who not only pleases herself, but is the cause of pleasing in others: that I know she can make anything of anybody; and that, as your governess, if she does not make you please, it must be only because she will not, and not because she cannot. I hope you are, *du bois dont on en fait*; and if so, she is so good a sculptor, that I am sure she can give you whatever form she pleases. A versatility of manners is as necessary in social, as a versatility of parts is in political life. One must often yield, in order to prevail: one must humble one's-self, to be exalted; one must, like St. Paul, become all things to all men, to gain some; and (by the way) men are taken by the same means, *mutatis mutandis*, that women are gained; by gentleness, insinuation, and submission; and these lines of Mr. Dryden's will hold to a Minister as well as to a Mistress.

The prostrate lover, when he lowest lies,
But stoops to conquer, and but kneels to rise.

In the course of the world, the qualifications of theameleon are often necessary: nay, they must be carried a little farther, and exerted a little sooner; for you should, to a certain degree, take the hue of either the man or the woman that you want, and wish to be upon terms with. *A propos*, Have you yet found out at Paris any friendly and hospitable Madame de Lursay,* *qui veut bien se charger du soin de vous éduquer*? And have you had any occasion of representing to her, *qu'elle faisoit donc des nœuds*? But I ask your

* See notes to the letters of November 26, 1749, and December 24, 1760.

pardon, Sir, for the abruptness of the question, and acknowledge that I am meddling with matters that are out of my department. However, in matters of less importance I desire to be *de vos secrets le fidèle dépositaire*. Trust me with the general turn and colour of your amusements at Paris. Is it *le fracas du grand monde, comédies, bals, opéras, cour, &c.*? Or is it *des petites sociétés moins bruyantes mais pas pour cela moins agréables*? Where are you the most *établi*? Where are you *le petit Stanhope*? *Voyez vous encore jour à quelque arrangement honnête*? Have you made any acquaintances among the young Frenchmen who ride at your Academy; and who are they? Send me this sort of chit-chat in your letters, which, by the bye, I wish you would honour me with somewhat oftener. If you frequent any of the myriads of polite Englishmen who infest Paris, who are they? Have you finished with Abbé Nollet,* and are you *au fait* of all the properties and effects of air? Were I inclined to quibble, I would say, that the effects of *air*, at least, are best to be learned of Marcel. If you have quite done with l'Abbé Nollet, ask my friend l'Abbé Sallier† to recommend to you some meagre philomath, to teach you a little geometry and astronomy; not enough to absorb your attention, and puzzle your intellects, but only enough, not to be grossly ignorant of either. I have of late been a sort

* Jean Antoine Nollet was born in 1700. He distinguished himself by his scientific lectures and publications from an early age until his death, in 1770.

† Claude Sallier, an active and distinguished member of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, to which he has contributed a great number of interesting essays (vols. 3-25). He was born in 1685, and died in 1761.

of an *astronome malgré moi*, by bringing last Monday, into the House of Lords, a bill for reforming our present Calendar, and taking the New Style. Upon which occasion I was obliged to talk some astronomical jargon, of which I did not understand one word, but got it by heart, and spoke it by rote from a master. I wished that I had known a little more of it myself; and so much I would have you know. But the great and necessary knowledge of all is, to know yourself and others: this knowledge requires great attention and long experience; exert the former, and may you have the latter! Adieu.

P. S.—I have this moment received your letters of the 27th February, and the 2d March, N. S. The seal shall be done as soon as possible. I am glad that you are employed in Lord Albemarle's bureau; it will teach you, at least, the mechanical part of that business, such as folding, entering, and docketing letters; for you must not imagine that you are let into the *fin fin* of the correspondence, nor indeed is it fit that you should at your age. However, use yourself to secrecy as to the letters you either read or write, that in time you may be trusted with *secret, verry secret, separate, apart, &c.* I am sorry that this business interferes with your riding; I hope it is but seldom; but I insist upon its not interfering with your dancing-master, who is at this time the most useful and necessary of all the masters you have or can have.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I MENTIONED to you some time ago, a sentence, which I would most earnestly wish you always to retain in your thoughts and observe in your conduct. It is *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. I do not know any one rule so unexceptionably useful and necessary in every part of life. I shall therefore take it for my text to-day; and as old men love preaching, and I have some right to preach to you, I here present you with my sermon upon these words. To proceed then regularly and *pulpetically*; I will first show you, my beloved, the necessary connexion of the two members of my text, *suaviter in modo; fortiter in re*. In the next place, I shall set forth the advantages and utility resulting from a strict observance of the precept contained in my text; and conclude with an application of the whole. The *suaviter in modo* alone would degenerate and sink into a mean, timid complaisance, and passiveness, if not supported and dignified by the *fortiter in re*; which would also run into impetuosity and brutality, if not tempered and softened by the *suaviter in modo*: however, they are seldom united. The warm choleric man with strong animal spirits despises the *suaviter in modo*, and thinks to carry all before him by the *fortiter in re*. He may, possibly, by great accident, now and then succeed, when he has only weak and timid people to deal with; but his general fate will be to shock, offend, be hated, and fail. On the other hand, the cunning, crafty man, thinks to gain all his ends by the *suaviter in modo* only: he becomes all things to all men; he seems to have no opinion of his own, and servilely adopts the present opinion of the present person; he insinuates himself

only into the esteem of fools, but is soon detected, and surely despised by everybody else. The wise man (who differs as much from the cunning as from the choleric man) alone joins the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*.

Now to the advantages arising from the strict observance of this precept. If you are in authority, and have a right to command, your commands delivered *suaviter in modo* will be willingly, cheerfully, and consequently well obeyed; whereas, if given only *fortiter*, that is brutally, they will rather, as Tacitus says, be interpreted than executed. For my own part, if I bid my footman bring me a glass of wine in a rough insulting manner, I should expect that in obeying me he would contrive to spill some of it upon me; and I am sure I should deserve it. A cool, steady resolution should show, that where you have a right to command you will be obeyed; but, at the same time, a gentleness in the manner of enforcing that obedience should make it a cheerful one, and soften, as much as possible, the mortifying consciousness of inferiority. If you are to ask a favour, or even to solicit your due, you must do it *suaviter in modo*, or you will give those, who have a mind to refuse you either, a pretence to do it by resenting the manner; but on the other hand, you must, by a steady perseverance and decent tenaciousness, show the *fortiter in re*. The right motives are seldom the true ones of men's actions, especially of Kings, ministers, and people in high stations; who often give to importunity and fear what they would refuse to justice or to merit. By the *suaviter in modo* engage their hearts, if you can; at least, prevent the pretence of offence: but take care

to show enough of the *fortiter in re* to extort from their love of ease, or their fear, what you might in vain hope for from their justice or good-nature. People in high life are hardened to the wants and distresses of mankind as surgeons are to their bodily pains; they see and hear of them all day long, and even of so many simulated ones, that they do not know which are real and which not. Other sentiments are therefore to be applied to than those of mere justice and humanity; their favour must be captivated by the *suaviter in modo*: their love of ease disturbed by unwearied importunity, or their fears wrought upon by a decent intimation of implacable, cool resentment: this is the true *fortiter in re*. This precept is the only way I know in the world of being loved without being despised, and feared without being hated. It constitutes the dignity of character, which every wise man must endeavour to establish.

Now to apply what has been said, and so conclude.

If you find that you have a hastiness in your temper, which unguardedly breaks out into indiscreet sallies or rough expressions, to either your superiors, your equals, or your inferiors, watch it narrowly, check it carefully, and call the *suaviter in modo* to your assistance: at the first impulse of passion be silent till you can be soft. Labour even to get the command of your countenance so well, that those emotions may not be read in it: a most unspeakable advantage in business. On the other hand, let no complaisance, no gentleness of temper, no weak desire of pleasing on your part, no wheedling, coaxing, nor flattery, on other people's, make you recede one jot from any point that reason and prudence have bid you pursue;

but return to the charge, persist, persevere, and you will find most things attainable that are possible. A yielding, timid meekness is always abused and insulted by the unjust and the unfeeling; but when sustained by the *fortiter in re*, is always respected, commonly successful. In your friendships and connections, as well as in your enmities, this rule is particularly useful; let your firmness and vigour preserve and invite attachments to you; but at the same time, let your manner hinder the enemies of your friends and dependants from becoming yours: let your enemies be disarmed by the gentleness of your manner, but let them feel at the same time the steadiness of your just resentment; for there is great difference between bearing malice, which is always ungenerous, and a resolute self-defence, which is always prudent and justifiable. In negotiations with foreign Ministers, remember the *fortiter in re*; give up no point, accept of no expedient, till the utmost necessity reduces you to it, and even then dispute the ground inch by inch; but then, while you are contending with the minister *fortiter in re*, remember to gain the man by the *suaviter in modo*. If you engage his heart, you have a fair chance for imposing upon his understanding, and determining his will. Tell him in a frank and gallant manner that your ministerial wrangles do not lessen your personal regard for his merit; but that, on the contrary, his zeal and ability in the service of his master increase it; and that of all things you desire to make a good friend of so good a servant. By these means you may and will very often be a gainer: you never can be a loser. Some people cannot gain upon themselves to be easy and civil to those who are either their rivals, competi-

tors, or opposers, though, independently of those accidental circumstances, they would like and esteem them. They betray a shyness and an awkwardness in company with them, and catch at any little thing to expose them; and so, from temporary and only occasional opponents, make them their personal enemies. This is exceedingly weak and detrimental, as indeed is all humour in business; which can only be carried on successfully by unadulterated good policy and right reasoning. In such situations I would be more particularly and *noblement* civil, easy, and frank, with the man whose designs I traversed; this is commonly called generosity and magnanimity, but is, in truth, good sense and policy. The manner is often as important as the matter, sometimes more so; a favour may make an enemy, and an injury may make a friend, according to the different manner in which they are severally done. The countenance, the address, the words, the enunciation, the Graces, add great efficacy to the *suaviter in modo*, and great dignity to the *fortiter in re*; and consequently they deserve the utmost attention.

From what has been said I conclude with this observation: that gentleness of manners, with firmness of mind, is a short but full description of human perfection, on this side of religious and moral duties: that you may be seriously convinced of this truth, and show it in your life and conversation, is the most sincere and ardent wish of

Yours.

London, March 11, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED by the last post a letter from Abbé Guasco, in which he joins his representations to those of Lord Albemarle, against your remaining any longer in your very bad lodgings at the Academy; and, as I do not find that any advantage can arise to you, from being *interne* in an Academy, which is full as far from the riding-house, and from all your other masters, as your lodgings will probably be, I agree to your removing to an *hôtel garni*; the Abbé will help you to find one, as I desire him by the enclosed, which you will give him. I must, however, annex one condition to your going into private lodgings, which is an absolute exclusion of English breakfasts and suppers at them; the former consume the whole morning, and the latter employ the evenings very ill, in senseless toasting *à l'Angloise* in their infernal claret. You will be sure to go to the riding-house as often as possible, that is, whenever your new business at Lord Albemarle's does not hinder you. But at all events, I insist upon your never missing Marcel, who is at present of more consequence to you than all the *bureaus* in Europe; for this is the time for you to acquire *tous ces petits riens*, which, though in arithmetical account, added to one another *ad infinitum*, they would amount to nothing, in the account of the world amount to a great and important sum. *Les agrémens et les graces*, without which you will never be anything, are absolutely made up of all those *riens*, which are more easily felt than described. By the way, you may take your lodgings for one whole year certain, by which means you may get them much cheaper; for though

I intend to see you here in less than a year, it will be but for a little time, and you will return to Paris again, where I intend you shall stay till the end of April twelvemonth, 1752; at which time, provided you have got all *la politesse, les manières, les attentions, et les graces du beau monde*, I shall place you in some business suitable to your destination.

I have received, at last, your present of the cartoon from Dominichino, by Blanchet. It is very finely done; it is pity that he did not take in all the figures of the original. I will hang it up, where it shall be your own again some time or other.

Mr. Harte is returned in perfect health from Cornwall, and has taken possession of his prebendal house at Windsor, which is a very pretty one. As I dare say you will always feel, I hope you will always express, the strongest sentiments of gratitude and friendship for him. Write to him frequently, and attend to the letters you receive from him. He shall be with us at Blackheath, alias *Babiote*,* all the time that I propose you shall be there, which I believe will be the month of August next.

Having thus mentioned to you the probable time of our meeting, I will prepare you a little for it. Hatred, jealousy, or envy, make most people attentive to discover the least defects of those they do not love; they rejoice at every new discovery they make of that kind, and take care to publish it. I thank God, I do not know what those three ungenerous passions are, having never felt them in my own breast; but love has

* Lord Chesterfield's villa was thus surnamed in compliment to Madame de Monconseil. See in the Miscellaneous Correspondence his letter to that lady of July 8, 1749.

just the same effect upon me, except that I conceal, instead of publishing, the defects which my attention makes me discover in those I love. I curiously pry into them; I analyse them; and, wishing either to find them perfect or to make them so, nothing escapes me, and I soon discover every the least gradation towards, or from, that perfection. You must therefore expect the most critical *examen* that ever anybody underwent: I shall discover your least, as well as your greatest defects, and I shall very freely tell you of them, *Non quod odio habeam, sed quod amem*. But I shall tell them you *tête-à-tête*, and as *Micio*, not as *Demea*;* and I will tell them to nobody else. I think it but fair to inform you beforehand, where I suspect that my criticisms are likely to fall; and that is more upon the outward, than upon the inward man: I neither suspect your heart nor your head; but, to be plain with you, I have a strange distrust of your air, your address, your manners, your *lournure*, and particularly of your *enunciation* and elegance of style. These will be all put to the trial; for while you are with me, you must do the honours of my house and table; the least inaccuracy or inelegancy will not escape me; as you will find by a *look* at the time, and by a remonstrance afterwards when we are alone. You will see a great deal of company of all sorts at *Babiolo*, and particularly foreigners. Make therefore, in the mean time, all these exterior and ornamental qualifications your peculiar care, and disappoint all my imaginary schemes of criticism. Some authors have criticised their own works first, in hopes of hindering others from doing it afterwards; but then they do it them-

* See the *Adelphi* of Terence.

selves with so much tenderness and partiality for their own production, that not only the production itself, but the preventive criticism, is criticised. I am not one of those authors; but, on the contrary, my severity increases with my fondness for my work; and if you will but effectually correct all the faults I shall find, I will insure you from all subsequent criticisms from other quarters.

Are you got a little into the interior, into the constitution of things at Paris? Have you seen what you have seen thoroughly? For, by the way, few people see what they see, or hear what they hear. For example: if you go to *les Invalides*, do you content yourself with seeing the building, the hall where three or four hundred cripples dine, and the galleries where they lie; or do you inform yourself of the numbers, the conditions of their admission, their allowance, the value and nature of the fund by which the whole is supported? This latter I call seeing, the former is only staring. Many people take the opportunity of *les vacances*, to go and see the empty rooms, where the several chambers of the Parliament did sit; which rooms are exceedingly like all other large rooms: when you go there, let it be when they are full; see and hear what is doing in them; learn their respective constitutions, jurisdictions, objects, and methods of proceeding; hear some causes tried in every one of the different chambers. *Approfondissez les choses.*

I am glad to hear that you are so well at Marquis de St. Germain's,* of whom I hear a very good char-

* At that time Ambassador from the King of Sardinia at the Court of France.

acter. How are you with the other foreign ministers at Paris? Do you frequent the Dutch Ambassador or Ambassadress? Have you any footing at the Nuncio's or at the Imperial and Spanish Ambassador's? It is useful. Be more particular in your letters to me, as to your manner of passing your time, and the company you keep. Where do you dine and sup oftenest? whose house is most your home? Adieu. *Les Graces, les Graces!*

London, March 18, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I ACQUAINTED you in a former letter that I had brought a bill into the House of Lords, for correcting and reforming our present calendar, which is the Julian, and for adopting the Gregorian. I will now give you a more particular account of that affair, from which reflections will naturally occur to you that I hope may be useful, and which I fear you have not made. It was notorious, that the Julian calendar was erroneous, and had overcharged the solar year with eleven days. Pope Gregory XIII. corrected this error: his reformed calendar was immediately received by all the Catholic Powers of Europe, and afterwards adopted by all the Protestant ones, except Russia, Sweden, and England. It was not, in my opinion, very honourable for England to remain in a gross and avowed error, especially in such company: the inconveniency of it was likewise felt by all those who had foreign correspondences, whether political or mercantile. I determined, therefore, to attempt the reformation; I consulted the best lawyers, and the

most skilful astronomers, and we cooked up a bill for that purpose. But then my difficulty began: I was to bring in this bill, which was necessarily composed of law jargon and astronomical calculations, to both which I am an utter stranger. However, it was absolutely necessary to make the House of Lords think that I knew something of the matter, and also to make them believe that they knew something of it themselves, which they do not. For my own part, I could just as soon have talked Celtic or Selavonian to them as astronomy, and they would have understood me full as well; so I resolved to do better than speak to the purpose, and to please instead of informing them. I gave them, therefore, only an historical account of calendars, from the Egyptian down to the Gregorian, amusing them now and then with little episodes; but I was particularly attentive to the choice of my words, to the harmony and roundness of my periods, to my elocution, to my action. This succeeded, and ever will succeed: they thought I informed, because I pleased them; and many of them said, that I had made the whole very clear to them, when, God knows, I had not even attempted it. Lord Macclesfield, who had the greatest share in forming the bill, and who is one of the greatest mathematicians and astronomers in Europe,* spoke afterwards with infinite knowledge, and all the clearness that so intricate a matter would admit of; but as his words, his periods, and his utterance, were not near so good as mine, the preference was most unanimously, though most unjustly, given to me. This will ever be the

* George, second Earl of Macclesfield. In November 1753 he was unanimously elected President of the Royal Society. He died in 1764.

case; every numerous assembly is *mob*, let the individuals who compose it be what they will. Mere reason and good sense is never to be talked to a mob: their passions, their sentiments, their senses, and their seeming interests, are alone to be applied to. Understanding they have collectively none; but they have ears and eyes, which must be flattered and seduced; and this can only be done by eloquence, tuneful periods, graceful action, and all the various parts of oratory.

When you come into the House of Commons, if you imagine that speaking plain and unadorned sense and reason will do your business, you will find yourself most grossly mistaken. As a speaker, you will be ranked only according to your eloquence, and by no means according to your matter; everybody knows the matter almost alike, but few can adorn it. I was early convinced of the importance and powers of eloquence, and from that moment I applied myself to it. I resolved not to utter one word, even in common conversation, that should not be the most expressive and the most elegant that the language could supply me with for that purpose: by which means I have acquired such a certain degree of habitual eloquence, that I must now really take some pains, if I would express myself very inelegantly. I want to inculcate this known truth into you, which you seem by no means to be convinced of yet—that ornaments are at present your only objects. Your sole business now is to shine, not to weigh. Weight without lustre is lead. You had better talk trifles elegantly, to the most trifling woman, than coarse inelegant sense to the most solid man. You had better return a dropped fan genteelly, than

give a thousand pounds awkwardly; and you had better refuse a favour gracefully, than grant it clumsily. Manner is all, in everything: it is by manner only that you can please, and consequently rise. All your Greek will never advance you from Secretary to Envoy, or from Envoy to Ambassador; but your address, your manner, your air, if good, very probably may. Marcel can be of much more use to you than Aristotle. I would, upon my word, much rather that you had Lord Bolingbroke's style and eloquence, in speaking and writing, than all the learning of the Academy of Sciences, the Royal Society, and the two Universities united.

Having mentioned Lord Bolingbroke's style, which is, undoubtedly, infinitely superior to anybody's, I would have you read his works, which you have, over and over again, with particular attention to his style. Transcribe, imitate, emulate it, if possible: that would be of real use to you in the House of Commons, in negotiations, in conversation; with that, you may justly hope to please, to persuade, to seduce, to impose; and you will fail in those articles, in proportion as you fall short of it. Upon the whole, lay aside, during your year's residence at Paris, all thoughts of all that dull fellows call solid, and exert your utmost care to acquire what people of fashion call shining. *Prenez l'éclat et le brillant d'un galant homme.*

Among the commonly-called little things to which you do not attend, your handwriting is one, which is indeed shamefully bad, and illiberal: it is neither the hand of a man of business, nor of a gentleman, but of a truant schoolboy; as soon, therefore, as you have done with Abbé Nollet, pray get an excellent writing-

master, since you think that you cannot teach yourself to write what hand you please; and let him teach you to write a genteel, legible, liberal hand, and quick, not the hand of a *procureur*, or a writing-master, but that sort of hand in which the first *Commis* in foreign bureaux commonly write: for I tell you truly, that were I Lord Albemarle, nothing should remain in my bureau, written in your present hand. From hand to arms the transition is natural;—is the carriage and motion of your arms so too? The motion of the arms is the most material part of a man's air, especially in dancing; the feet are not near so material. If a man dances well from the waist upwards, wears his hat well, and moves his head properly, he dances well. Do the women say that you dress well? for that is necessary, too, for a young fellow. Have you *un goût vif*, or a passion for any body? I do not ask for whom: an Iphigenia would both give you the desire, and teach you the means to please.

In a fortnight or three weeks you will see Sir Charles Hotham at Paris, in his way to Toulouse, where he is to stay a year or two. Pray be very civil to him, but do not carry him into company, except presenting him to Lord Albemarle; for, as he is not to stay at Paris above a week, we do not desire that he should taste of that dissipation: you may show him a play and an opera. Adieu, my dear child!

London, March 25, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WHAT a happy period of your life is this! Pleasure is now, and ought to be, your business. While you were younger, dry rules, and unconnected words,

were the unpleasant objects of your labours. When you grow older, the anxiety, the vexations, the disappointments, inseparable from public business, will require the greatest share of your time and attention; your pleasures may, indeed, conduce to your business, and your business will quicken your pleasures; but still your time must, at least, be divided: whereas now it is wholly your own, and cannot be so well employed as in the pleasures of a gentleman. The world is now the only book you want, and almost the only one you ought to read: that necessary book can only be read in company, in public places, at meals, and in *ruelles*. You must be in the pleasures, in order to learn the manners of good company. In premeditated, or in formal business, people conceal, or at least endeavour to conceal, their characters; whereas pleasures discover them, and the heart breaks out through the guard of the understanding. Those are often propitious moments for skilful negotiators to improve. In your destination particularly, the able conduct of pleasures is of infinite use: to keep a good table, and to do the honours of it gracefully, and *sur le ton de la bonne compagnie*, is absolutely necessary for a foreign minister. There is a certain light table chit-chat, useful to keep off improper and too serious subjects, which is only to be learned in the pleasures of good company. In truth, it may be trifling; but trifling as it is, a man of parts, and experience of the world, will give an agreeable turn to it. *L'art de badiner agréablement* is by no means to be despised.

An engaging address, and turn to gallantry, is often of very great service to foreign ministers. Women have, directly, or indirectly, a good deal to say in most

Courts. The late Lord Strafford* governed, for a considerable time, the Court of Berlin, and made his own fortune, by being well with Madame de Wartemberg, the first King of Prussia's mistress. I could name many other instances of that kind. That sort of agreeable *caquet des femmes*, the necessary fore-runner of closer conferences, is only to be got by frequenting women of the first fashion, *et qui donnent le ton*. Let every other book then give way to this great and necessary book, the World; of which there are so many various readings, that it requires a great deal of time and attention to understand it well: contrary to all other books, you must not stay at home, but go abroad to read it; and, when you seek it abroad, you will not find it in booksellers' shops and stalls, but in Courts, in *hotels*, at entertainments, balls, assemblies, spectacles, &c. Put yourself upon the foot of an easy, domestic, but polite familiarity and intimacy, in the several French houses to which you have been introduced. Cultivate them, frequent them, and show a desire of becoming *enfant de la maison*. Get acquainted as much as you can with *les gens de cour*: and observe, carefully, how politely they can differ, and how civilly they can hate; how easy and idle they can seem in the multiplicity of their business; and how they can lay hold of the proper moments to carry it on, in the midst of their pleasures. Courts, alone, teach versatility and politeness; for there is no living there without them. Lord Albemarle has, I hear, and am very glad of it, put you into the hands of Messieurs de Bussy. Profit by that, and beg of them to let you

* Thomas Wentworth Lord Raby, first Earl of Strafford of the second creation. He died in 1728.

attend them in all the companies of Versailles and Paris. One of them, at least, will naturally carry you to Madame de la Valieres, unless he is discarded by this time, and Gelliot* retaken. Tell them frankly, *que vous cherchez à vous former, que vous êtes en main de maitres, s'ils veulent bien s'en donner la peine.* Your profession has this agreeable peculiarity in it, which is, that it is connected with, and promoted by pleasures; and it is the only one in which a thorough knowledge of the world, polite manners, and an engaging address, are absolutely necessary. If a lawyer knows his law, a parson his divinity, and a *financier* his calculations, each may make a figure and a fortune in his profession, without great knowledge of the world, and without the manners of gentlemen. But your profession throws you into all the intrigues, and cabals, as well as pleasures, of Courts: in those windings and labyrinths, a knowledge of the world, a discernment of characters, a suppleness and versatility of mind, and an elegance of manners, must be your clue: you must know how to soothe and lull the monsters that guard, and how to address and gain the fair that keep, the golden fleece. These are the arts and the accomplishments absolutely necessary for a foreign minister; in which it must be owned, to our shame, that most other nations out-do the English; and, *cæteris paribus*, a French minister will get the better of an English one, at any third Court in Europe. The French have something more *liant*, more insinuating and engaging in their manner, than we have. An English minister shall have resided seven years at a Court, without having made any one personal

* A famous Opera-singer at Paris.

connection there, or without being intimate and domestic in any one house. He is always the English minister, and never naturalized. He receives his orders, demands an audience, writes an account of it to his Court, and his business is done. A French minister, on the contrary, has not been six weeks at a Court, without having, by a thousand little attentions, insinuated himself into some degree of favour with the Prince, his wife, his mistress, his favourite, and his minister. He has established himself upon a familiar and domestic footing, in a dozen of the best houses of the place, where he has accustomed the people to be not only easy, but unguarded before him; he makes himself at home there, and they think him so. By these means he knows the interior of those Courts, and can almost write prophecies to his own, from the knowledge he has of the characters, the humours, the abilities, or the weaknesses, of the actors. The Cardinal d'Ossat* was looked upon at Rome as an Italian, and not as a French Cardinal; and Monsieur d'Avaux,† wherever he went, was never considered as a foreign minister, but as a native, and a personal friend. Mere plain truth, sense, and knowledge, will by no means do alone in Courts; art and ornaments must come to their assistance. Humours must be flattered; the *mollia tempora* must be studied

* Arnaud d'Ossat, afterwards Cardinal, negotiated at Rome the reconciliation of Henri IV. to the Holy See. He died in 1604, and his Correspondence, which first appeared in 1624, has been several times reprinted.

† Jean Antoine, Comte d'Avaux, was the plenipotentiary of France at the Conferences of Nimeguen, and afterwards Ambassador in Holland until the war of 1673. His *Lettres et Negotiations* were published at the Hague in 1710.

and known: confidence, acquired by seeming frankness, and profited of by silent skill. And, above all, you must gain and engage the heart, to betray the understanding to you. *Hæ tibi erunt artes.*

The death of the Prince of Wales,* who was more beloved for his affability and good-nature, than esteemed for his steadiness and conduct, has given concern to many, and apprehensions to all. The great difference of the ages of the King and Prince George, presents the prospect of a minority; a disagreeable prospect for any nation! But it is to be hoped, and is most probable, that the King, who is now perfectly recovered of his late indisposition, may live to see his grandson of age. He is, seriously, a most hopeful boy: gentle and good-natured, with good sound sense. This event has made all sorts of people here historians, as well as politicians. Our histories are rummaged for all the particular circumstances of the six minorities we have had since the conquest, viz. those of Henry III., Edward III., Richard II., Henry VI., Edward V., and Edward VI.; and the reasonings, the speculations, the conjectures, and the predictions, you will easily imagine, must be innumerable and endless, in this nation, where every porter is a consummate politician. Doctor Swift says, very humorously, "Every man knows that he understands religion and politics, though he never learned them; but many people are conscious they do not understand many other sciences, from having never learned them." Adieu!

* Frederick Prince of Wales died March 20, 1751.

London, April 7, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

HERE you have all together, the pocket-books, the compasses, and the patterns. When your three Graces have made their option, you need only send me, in a letter, small pieces of the three mohairs they fix upon. If I can find no way of sending them safely, and directly to Paris, I will contrive to have them left with Madame Morel, at Calais; who, being Madame Monconseil's agent there, may find means of furthering them to your three ladies, who all belong to your friend Madame Monconseil. Two of the three, I am told, are handsome; Madame Polignac, I can swear, is not so; but however, as the world goes, two out of three is a very good composition.

You will also find in the packet a compass ring, set round with little diamonds, which I advise you to make a present of to Abbé Guasco, who has been useful to you, and will continue to be so; as it is a mere bauble, you must add to the value of it by your manner of giving it him. Show it him first, and, when he commends it, as probably he will, tell him that it is at his service, *et que comme il est toujours par voie et par chemins, il est absolument nécessaire qu'il ait une boussole*. All those little gallantries depend entirely upon the manner of doing them; as, in truth, what does not? The greatest favours may be done so awkwardly and bunglingly as to offend; and disagreeable things may be done so agreeably as almost to oblige. Endeavour to acquire this great secret; it exists, it is to be found, and is worth a great deal more than the grand secret of the Alchymists would be if it were, as it is not, to be found. This is only to be learned

in Courts, where clashing views, jarring opinions, and cordial hatreds, are softened, and kept within decent bounds, by politeness and manners. Frequent, observe, and learn Courts. Are you free of that of St. Cloud? Are you often at Versailles? Insinuate and wriggle yourself into favour at those places. L'Abbé de la Ville, my old friend,* will help you at the latter; your three ladies may establish you in the former. The good-breeding *de la Ville et de la Cour* are different; but, without deciding which is intrinsically the best, that of the Court is, without doubt, the most necessary for you, who are to live, to grow, and to rise in Courts. In two years' time, which will be as soon as you are fit for it, I hope to be able to plant you in the soil of a *young Court*† here; where, if you have all the address, the suppleness, and versatility of a good courtier, you will have a great chance of thriving and flourishing. Young favour is easily acquired, if the proper means are employed; and when acquired, it is warm, if not durable; and the warm moments must be snatched and improved. *Quitte pour ce qui en peut arriver après.* Do not mention this view of mine for you, to any mortal; but learn to keep your own secrets, which, by the way, very few people can do.

* The Abbé de la Ville was born about the year 1690. He had been preceptor to the children of the Marquis de Fenelon during his embassy at the Hague, and in 1744 was appointed successor to the Marquis in his diplomatic post, although with the inferior rank of Envoy. Lord Chesterfield speaks highly of his abilities for business, in a subsequent letter (September 29, 1752). He was also distinguished in literature, and was elected in 1746 a member of the French Academy. He died in 1774.

† Lord Chesterfield here alludes to the household of the Princess Dowager of Wales, and of her son, afterwards King George III.

If your course of experimental philosophy with Abbé Nollet is over, I would have you apply to Abbé Sallier for a master to give you a general notion of astronomy and geometry; of both which you may know as much as I desire you should, in six months' time. I only desire that you should have a clear notion of the present planetary system, and the history of all the former systems: Fontenelle's *Pluralité des Mondes*, will almost teach you all you need know upon that subject. As for geometry, the seven first books of Euclid will be a sufficient portion of it for you. It is right to have a general notion of those abstruse sciences, so as not to appear quite ignorant of them, when they happen, as sometimes they do, to be the topics of conversation; but a deep knowledge of them requires too much time, and engrosses the mind too much. I repeat it again and again to you. Let the great book of the world be your principal study. *Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ*; which may be rendered thus in English: Turn over *men by day, and women by night*. I mean only the best editions.

Whatever may be said at Paris of my speech upon the Bill for the reformation of the present calendar, or whatever applause it may have met with here, the whole, I can assure you, is owing to the words and to the delivery, but by no means to the matter; which, as I told you in a former letter, I was not master of. I mention this again, to show you the importance of well-chosen words, harmonious periods, and good delivery; for, between you and me, Lord Macclesfield's speech was, in truth, worth a thousand of mine. It will soon be printed, and I will send it you. It is very instructive. You say, that you wish to speak

but half as well as I did; you may easily speak full as well as ever I did; if you will but give the same attention to the same objects that I did at your age, and for many years afterwards; I mean correctness, purity and elegance of style, harmony of periods, and gracefulness of delivery. Read over and over again the third book of *Cicero de Oratore*, in which he particularly treats of the ornamental parts of oratory; they are indeed properly oratory, for all the rest depends only upon common sense, and some knowledge of the subjects you speak upon. But if you would please, persuade, and prevail in speaking, it must be by the ornamental parts of oratory. Make them, therefore, habitual to you; and resolve never to say the most common things, even to your footman, but in the best words you can find, and with the best utterance. This, with *les manières, la tournure, et les usages du beau monde*, are the only two things you want; fortunately they are both in your power; may you have them both! Adieu.

À Londres, ce 15 Avril, V. S. 1751.

MON CHER AMI,

COMMENT vont les graces, les manières, les agrémens, et tous ces petits riens si nécessaires pour rendre un homme aimable? Les prenez vous? y faites vous des progrès? Le grand secret c'est l'art de plaire, et c'est un art qu'il ne tient qu'à un chacun d'acquérir, supposant un certain fond de sens commun. Un tel vous plaît par tel endroit; examinez pourquoi, faites comme lui, et vous plairez par le même endroit aux autres. Pour plaire aux femmes, il faut être considéré

des hommes. Et pour plaire aux hommes, il faut savoir plaire aux femmes. Les femmes, dont la vanité est sans contredit la passion dominante, la trouvent flattée par les attentions d'un homme qui est généralement estimé parmi les hommes. Quand il est marqué à ce coin, elles lui donnent le cours, c'est à dire, la mode. De l'autre côté, un homme sera estimable parmi les hommes, sans pourtant être aimable, si les femmes n'y ont pas mis la dernière main. Il est aussi nécessaire que les deux sexes travaillent à sa perfection qu'à son être; portez aux femmes le mérite de votre sexe, vous en rapporterez la douceur, les agrémens, et les graces du leur, et les hommes qui vous estimoient seulement auparavant, vous aimeront après. Les femmes sont les véritables raffineuses de l'or masculin; elles n'y ajoutent pas du poids il est vrai, mais elles y donnent l'éclat et le brillant. A propos, on m'assure que Madame de Blot,* sans avoir des traits, est jolie comme un cœur, et que nonobstant cela, elle s'en est tenue jusqu'ici scrupuleusement à son mari, quoiqu'il y ait déjà plus d'un an qu'elle est mariée. Elle n'y pense pas; il faut décroter cette femme là. Décrotez vous donc tous les deux réciproquement. Force, assiduités, attentions, regards tendres, et déclarations passionnées de votre côté, produiront au moins quelque velléité du sien. Et quand une fois la velléité y est, les œuvres ne sont pas loin.†

* This lady was the sister of the Comte d'Hennerly, and wife of M. Chavigny de Blot, an officer in the Duke of Orleans' household. See a note to the letters of H. Walpole, vol. v. p. 391, ed. 1840. Madame du Deffand says of her: "Sa figure, son maintien en imposent; elle a beaucoup d'admirateurs." (To H. Walpole, April 17, 1774.)

† On this and too many other passages of the same most blameable tendency, the Editor ventures to refer to his observation at the close of the Preface.

Comme je vous tiens pour le premier *juris-peritus* et politique de tout le corps Germanique, je suppose que vous aurez lu la lettre du Roi de Prusse à l'Electeur de Mayence, au sujet de l'élection d'un Roi des Romains, et de l'autre côté, une pièce, intitulée, *Représentation impartiale de ce qui est juste à l'égard de l'élection d'un Roi des Romains, &c.* La première est très bien écrite, mais pas fondée sur les loix et les usages de l'Empire; la seconde est très mal écrite, au moins en François, mais fondée. Je crois qu'elle aura été écrite par quelque Allemand qui s'étoit mis dans l'esprit qu'il entendoit le François. Je suis persuadé pourtant que l'élégance et la délicatesse de la lettre du Roi de Prusse en imposeront aux deux tiers du public en dépit de la solidité et de la vérité de l'autre pièce. Telle est la force de l'élégance et de la délicatesse.

Je souhaiterois que vous eussiez la bonté de me détailler un peu plus particulièrement vos allures à Paris. Où est-ce par exemple que vous dînez tous les Vendredis, avec cet aimable et respectable vieillard Fontenelle? Quelle est la maison qui est pour ainsi dire votre domicile? Car on en a toujours une où l'on est plus établi, et plus à son aise qu'ailleurs. Qui sont les jeunes François avec lesquels vous êtes le plus lié? Fréquentez-vous l'hôtel d'Hollande; et vous êtes vous fourré encore dans celui du Comte de Caunitz?* Monsieur de Pignatelli, a-t-il l'honneur d'être du nombre de vos serviteurs? Et le Nonce du Pape vous a-t-il compris dans son Jubilé? Dites moi aussi naturellement comment vous êtes avec Milord Huntingdon; le voyez vous souvent? Le cultivez vous? Répondez

* Afterwards Prince, and Prime Minister to Maria Theresa; but at this period her Ambassador at Paris.

spécifiquement à toutes ces questions dans votre première lettre.

On me dit que le livre de Duclos n'est pas à la mode à Paris, et qu'on le critique furieusement ; c'est apparemment parce qu'on l'entend, et ce n'est plus la mode d'être intelligible.* Je respecte infiniment la mode, mais je respecte bien plus ce livre, que je trouve en même tems vrai, solide, et brillant. Il y a même des épigrammes, que veut-on de plus ?

Le Chevalier Hotham sera parti (je compte) de Paris pour son séjour de Toulouse. J'espère qu'il y prendra des manières, au moins en a-t-il bien besoin. Il est gauche, il est taciturne, et n'a pas le moindre *entregent* : qualités pourtant très nécessaires pour se distinguer ou dans les affaires, ou dans le beau monde. Au vrai, ces deux choses sont si liées, qu'un homme ne figurera jamais dans les affaires qui ne sçait pas briller aussi dans le beau monde. Et pour réussir parfaitement bien dans l'un ou dans l'autre, il faut être *in utrumque paratus*. Puissiez vous l'être, mon cher ami ; et sur ce, nous vous donnons le bon soir.

P.S.—Lord and Lady Blessington, with their son, Lord Mountjoy, will be at Paris next week, in their way to the south of France. I send you a little packet of books by them. Pray go to wait upon them as soon as you hear of their arrival, and show them all the attentions you can.†

* This book was entitled *Observations sur les Mœurs du Siècle*, and comprised a satire on the French nation at that time. See some further remarks upon it in Lord Chesterfield's Letter to Madame du Rochemore of May 20, 1751.

† William Stewart, Viscount Mountjoy, was, in 1745, promoted to the title of Earl of Blessington, at the recommendation of Lord Ches-

London, April 22, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I APPLY to you now as to the greatest *virtuoso* of this, or perhaps any other age; one whose superior judgment and distinguishing eye hindered the King of Poland from buying a bad picture at Venice, and whose decisions in the realms of *virtu* are final and without appeal. Now to the point: I have had a catalogue sent me, *d'une vente à l'amiable de tableaux des plus grands maîtres appartenans au Sieur Araignon Apéren, valet-de-chambre de la Reine, sur le quai de la Mégisserie au coin de l'Arche Marion*. There I observe two large pictures of Titian, as described in the enclosed page of the catalogue, No. 18, which I should be glad to purchase upon two conditions: the first is, that they be undoubted originals of Titian in good preservation; and the other, that they come cheap. To ascertain the first, (but without disparaging your skill,) I wish you would get some undoubted connoisseurs to examine them carefully; and if, upon such critical examination, they should be unanimously allowed to be undisputed originals of Titian, and well preserved, then comes the second point, the price: I will not go above two hundred pounds sterling for the two together; but as much less as you can get them for. I acknowledge that two hundred pounds seems to be a very small sum for two undoubted Titians of that size; but, on the other hand, as large Italian pictures are now out of fashion at Paris, where fashion decides of everything, and as these pictures are too

terfield, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. (Maly's Life, p. 273, 8vo. ed.) His only son, Lord Mountjoy, died in early youth at Paris, and at his own death, in 1769, his titles became extinct.

large for diamond rings, they may, possibly, come within the price above stated. I leave the whole of this transaction, the price excepted, which I will not expect to your discriminate skill and prudence, with proper advice joined to them. Should you happen to buy them for that price, carry them to your own jeweller, and get a frame made to the second, which I suppose will come exactly the same with the other frame, and have the old one new gilt; and then get them securely packed up, and sent me by Rouen.

I hear much of your conversing with *les beaux esprits* at Paris: I am very glad of it; it gives a degree of reputation, especially at Paris; and their conversation is generally instructive, though sometimes affected. It must be owned, that the polite conversation of the men and women of fashion at Paris, though not always very deep, is much less futile and frivolous than ours here. It turns at least upon some subject, something of taste, some point of history, criticism, and even philosophy, which, though probably not quite so solid as Mr. Locke's, is however better, and more becoming rational beings, than our frivolous dissertations upon the weather or upon whist. Monsieur Ducloux* observes, and I think very justly, *qu'il y a à présent en France une fermentation universelle de la raison qui tend à se développer*. Whereas, I am sorry to say, that here that fermentation seems to have been over some years ago, the spirit evapo-

* Charles-François Ducloux was born in 1704. Besides the *Chandréran* mentioned in Lyons, mentioned in a former note, he was the author of *Œuvres de Louis XI. Mémoires Secrets des Rois de Louis XIV et de Louis XV.* and other works of reputation. Jean Jacques Rousseau used to say of his character, that he was *un homme droit et adroit*. He died at Paris in 1772.

rated, and only the dregs left. Moreover *les beaux esprits* at Paris are commonly well-bred, which ours very frequently are not : with the former your manners will be formed ; with the latter, wit must generally be compounded for at the expense of manners. Are you acquainted with Marivaux, who has certainly studied, and is well acquainted with the heart ; but who refines so much upon its *plis et replis*, and describes them so affectedly, that he often is unintelligible to his readers, and sometimes so I dare say to himself ? Do you know *Crébillon le fils* ? He is a fine painter, and a pleasing writer ; his characters are admirable and his reflections just. Frequent these people, and be glad, but not proud, of frequenting them : never boast of it as a proof of your own merit, nor insult, in a manner, other companies, by telling them affectedly what you, Montesquieu, and Fontenelle were talking of the other day ; as I have known many people do here, with regard to Pope and Swift, who had never been twice in company with either : nor carry into other companies the tone of those meetings of *beaux esprits*. Talk literature, taste, philosophy, &c. with them, *à la bonne heure* ; but then with the same ease, and more *enjouement*, talk *pompons, moires*, &c. with Madame de Blot, if she requires it. Almost every subject in the world has its proper time and place ; in which no one is above or below discussion. The point is, to talk well upon the subject you talk upon ; and the most trifling, frivolous subjects will still give a man of parts an opportunity of showing them. *L'usage du grand monde* can alone teach that. This was the distinguishing characteristic of Alcibiades, and a happy one it was ; that he could occasionally, and with so much

case, adopt the most different, and even the most opposite habits and manners, that each seemed natural to him. Prepare yourself for the great world, as the *athletæ* used to do for their exercises; oil (if I may use that expression) your mind and your manners, to give them the necessary suppleness and flexibility; strength alone will not do, as young people are too apt to think.

How do your exercises go on? Can you manage a pretty vigorous *sauteur* between the pillars? Are you got into stirrups yet? *Faites vous assaut aux armes?* But above all, what does Marcel say of you? Is he satisfied? Pray be more particular in your accounts of yourself; for though I have frequent accounts of you from others, I desire to have your own too. Adieu!

Yours truly and tenderly.

London, May 2. O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Two accounts, which I have very lately received of you, from two good judges, have put me into great spirits; as they have given me reasonable hopes, that you will soon acquire all that I believe you want; I mean the air, the address, the graces, and the manners of a man of fashion. As these two pictures of you are very unlike that which I received, and sent you some months ago, I will name the two painters: the first is an old friend and acquaintance of mine, Monsieur D'Aillon. His picture is, I hope, like you; for it is a very good one: Monsieur Tollot's is still a better; and so advantageous a one, that I will not send you a copy of it, for fear of making you too vain. So far I will tell you, that there was only one *but* in either of

their accounts; and it was this: I gave D'Aillon the question, ordinary and extraordinary, upon the important article of Manners; and extorted this from him: *Mais, si vous voulez, il lui manque encore ce dernier beau vernis qui relève les couleurs, et qui donne l'éclat à la pièce. Comptez qu'il l'aura, il a trop d'esprit pour n'en pas connoître tout le prix, et je me trompe bien, ou plus d'une personne travaille à le lui donner.* Monsieur Tollot says, *Il ne lui manque absolument pour être tout ce que vous souhaitez qu'il soit, que ces petits riens, ces graces de détail, cette aisance aimable, que l'usage du grand monde peut seul lui donner.* A cet égard on m'assure qu'il est en de bonnes mains; je ne sçais si on ne veut pas dire par là dans de beaux bras. Without entering into a nice discussion of the last question, I congratulate you and myself upon your being so near that point which I so anxiously wish you may arrive at. I am sure, that all your attention and endeavours will be exerted; and, if exerted, they will succeed. Mr. Tollot says, that you are inclined to be fat; but I hope you will decline it as much as you can; not by taking anything corrosive to make you lean, but by taking as little as you can of those things that would make you fat. Drink no chocolate, take your coffee without cream; you cannot possibly avoid suppers at Paris, unless you avoid company too, which I would by no means have you do; but eat as little at supper as you can, and make even an allowance for that little at your dinners. Take, occasionally, a double dose of riding and fencing; and now that the summer is come, walk a good deal in the Tuilleries: it is a real inconveniency to anybody to be fat; and besides, it is ungraceful for a young fellow.

A propos, I had like to have forgot to tell you that I charged Tollet to attend particularly to your utterance and diction—two points of the utmost importance. To the first he says, *Il ne s'énonce pas mal, mais il seroit à souhaiter qu'il le fit encore mieux ; et il s'exprime avec plus de feu que d'élégance. L'usage de la bonne compagnie mettra aussi ordre à tout cela.* These, I allow, are all little things separately ; but, aggregately, they make a most important and great article in the account of a gentleman. In the House of Commons you can never make a figure, without elegance of style and gracefulness of utterance ; and you can never succeed as a courtier at your own Court, or as a minister at any other, without those innumerable *petits riens dans les manières, et dans les attentions.* Mr. Yorke is by this time at Paris ; make your court to him, but not so as to disgust in the least Lord Albemarle, who may possibly dislike your considering Mr. Yorke as the man of business, and him as only *pour orner la scène.* Whatever your opinion may be upon *that point*, take care not to let it appear ; but be well with them both, by showing no public preference to either.

Though I must necessarily fall into repetitions, by treating the same subject so often, I cannot help recommending to you again the utmost attention to your air and address. Apply yourself now to Marcel's lectures, as diligently as you did formerly to Professor Mascow's ; desire him to teach you every genteel attitude, that the human body can be put into ; let him make you go in and out of his room frequently, and present yourself to him, as if he were by turns different persons ; such as a minister, a lady, a superior, an equal, an inferior, &c. Learn to sit genteelly in dif-

ferent companies; to loll genteelly, and with good manners, in those companies where you are authorized to be free; and to sit up respectfully where the same freedom is not allowable. Learn even to compose your countenance occasionally to the respectful, the cheerful, and the insinuating. Take particular care that the motions of your hands and arms be easy and graceful, for the genteelness of a man consists more in them than in anything else, especially in his dancing. Desire some women to tell you of any little awkwardness that they observe in your carriage: they are the best judges of those things, and if they are satisfied, the men will be so too. Think now only of the decorations. Are you acquainted with Madame Geoffrain,* who has a great deal of wit, and who, I am informed, receives only the very best company in her house? Do you know Madame Dupin, who, I remember, had beauty, and I hear has wit and reading?† I could wish you to converse only with those who, either from their rank, their merit, or their

* Marie Thérèse Rodet, born in 1699, married at the age of fifteen M. Geoffrain. "On a prétendu," says M. de Laporte, "que c'était cet "homme bon et simple qui lisant toujours le même volume s'apercevait seulement de temps à autre que l'auteur se répétait un peu!" Madame Geoffrain was of a very different character: she collected around her one of the most brilliant literary circles of her day, and held what her enemies called *le Bureau d'Esprit*. Horace Walpole says of her: "I think she has one of the best understandings I ever met, and more knowledge of the world." (To Lady Hervev, Oct. 8, 1766.) She died in 1777.

† Madame Dupin, the wife of a *Fermier Général*, had a considerable taste for literature. Fontenelle and Marivaux, and many other distinguished men of letters, used to meet at her table both at Paris and at Chenonceaux. An account of her life at the latter is given in Rousseau's *Confessions*; and he adds, "j'y devina gras comme un moine." At her death in 1800, she was nearly a hundred years of age.

beauty, require constant attention; for a young man can never improve in company where he thinks he may neglect himself. A new bow must be constantly kept bent; when it grows older, and has taken the right turn, it may now and then be relaxed.

I have this moment paid your draft of 89*l.* 15*s.*; it was signed in a very good hand; which proves that a good hand may be written without the assistance of magic. Nothing provokes me much more, than to hear people indolently say, that they cannot do, what is in everybody's power to do, if it be but in their will. Adieu!

London, May 6, O.S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE best authors are always the severest critics of their own works; they revise, correct, file, and polish them, till they think they have brought them to perfection. Considering you as my work, I do not look upon myself as a bad author, and am therefore a severe critic. I examine narrowly into the least inaccuracy or inelegancy, in order to correct, not to expose them, and that the work may be perfect at last. You are, I know, exceedingly improved in your air, address, and manners, since you have been at Paris; but still there is, I believe, room for farther improvement, before you come to that perfection which I have set my heart upon seeing you arrive at: and till that moment, I must continue filing and polishing. In a letter that I received by last post, from a friend of yours at Paris, there was this paragraph: *Sans flatterie, j'ai l'honneur de vous assurer que Monsieur Stanhope réussit ici au delà de ce qu'on attendroit d'une personne de son âge; il voit très bonne compagnie, et ce*

petit ton, qu'on regardoit d'abord comme un peu décidé et un peu brusque, n'est rien moins que cela, parcequ'il est l'effet de la franchise, accompagnée de la politesse et de la déférence. Il s'étudie à plaire, et il y réussit. Madame de Puisieux en parloit l'autre jour avec complaisance et intérêt: vous en serez content à tous égards.* This is extremely well, and I rejoice at it: one little circumstance only may, and I hope will, be altered for the better. Take pains to undeceive those who thought that *petit ton un peu décidé et un peu brusque*; as it is not meant so, let it not appear so. Compose your countenance to an air of gentleness and *douceur*, use some expressions of diffidence of your own opinion, and deference to other people's; such as, *s'il m'est permis de le dire—je croirois—ne seroit-ce pas plutôt comme cela?* Au moins j'ai tout lieu de me défier de moi-même: such mitigating, engaging words do by no means weaken your argument; but, on the contrary, make it more powerful, by making it more pleasing. If it is a quick and hasty manner of speaking that people mistake *pour décidé et brusque*, prevent their mistakes for the future, by speaking more deliberately, and taking a softer tone of voice: as in this case you are free from the guilt, be free from the suspicion too. Mankind, as I have often told you, is more governed by appearances, than by realities: and, with regard to opinion, one had better be really rough and hard, with the appearance of gentleness and softness, than just the reverse. Few people have penetration enough to discover, attention enough to observe, or even concern enough to examine, be-

* The Marquis de Puisieux was at this time Minister of Foreign Affairs.

yond the exterior; they take their notions from the surface, and go no deeper; they commend, as the gentlest and best-natured man in the world, that man who has the most engaging exterior manner, though possibly they have been but once in his company. An air, a tone of voice, a composure of countenance to mildness and softness, which are all easily acquired, do the business; and without farther examination, and possibly with the contrary qualities, that man is reckoned the gentlest, the modestest, and the best-natured man alive. Happy the man who, with a certain fund of parts and knowledge, gets acquainted with the world early enough to make it his bubble, at an age when most people are the bubbles of the world! for that is the common case of youth. They grow wiser, when it is too late; and ashamed and vexed at having been bubbles so long, too often turn knaves at last. Do not therefore trust to appearances and outside yourself, but pay other people with them; because you may be sure that nine in ten of mankind do, and ever will, trust to them. This is by no means a criminal or blameable simulation, if not used with an ill intention. I am by no means blameable in desiring to have other people's good word, good will, and affection, if I do not mean to abuse them. Your heart, I know, is good, your sense is sound, and your knowledge extensive. What then remains for you to do? Nothing but to adorn those fundamental qualifications, with such engaging and captivating manners, softness, and gentleness, as will endear you to those who are able to judge of your real merit, and which always stand in the stead of merit with those who are not. I do not mean by this to recommend to you *le*

fade douxcreux, the insipid softness of a gentle fool : no, assert your own opinion, oppose other people's when wrong ; but let your manner, your air, your terms, and your tone of voice, be soft and gentle, and that easily and naturally, not affectedly. Use palliatives when you contradict ; such as, *I may be mistaken, I am not sure, but I believe, I should rather think, &c.* Finish any argument or dispute with some little good-humoured pleasantry, to show that you are neither hurt yourself, nor meant to hurt your antagonist ; for an argument kept up a good while often occasions a temporary alienation on each side. Pray observe particularly, in those French people who are distinguished by that character, *cette douceur de mœurs et de manières*, which they talk of so much, and value so justly ; see in what it consists ; in mere trifles, and most easy to be acquired, where the heart is really good. Imitate, copy it, till it becomes habitual and easy to you. Without a compliment to you, I take it to be the only thing you now want : nothing will sooner give it you than a real passion, or, at least, *un goût ris*, for some woman of fashion ; and, as I suppose that you have either the one or the other by this time, you are consequently in the best school. Besides this, if you were to say to Lady Hervey, Madame Monconseil, or such others as you look upon to be your friends, *On dit que j'ai un certain petit ton trop décidé et trop brusque, l'intention pourtant n'y est pas ; corrigez moi, je vous en supplie, et châtiez moi même publiquement quand vous me trouverez sur le fait. Ne me passez rien, poussez votre critique jusqu'à l'excès ; un juge aussi éclairé est en droit d'être sévère, et je vous promets que le coupable tâchera de se corriger.*

Yesterday I had two of your acquaintances to dine with me, Baron B. and his companion Monsieur S. I cannot say of the former, *qu'il est pétri de graces*; and I would rather advise him to go and settle quietly at home, than to think of improving himself by farther travels. *Ce n'est pas le bois dont on en fait.* His companion is much better, though he has a strong *tocco di tedesco*. They both spoke well of you, and so far I liked them both. *Comment vont nos affaires avec l'aimable petite Blot? Se prête-t-elle à vos fleurettes, êtes vous censé être sur les rangs? Madame Dupin est-elle votre Madame de Iursay, et fait-elle quelquefois des nœuds? Seriez vous son Meilcour? Elle a, dit on, de la douceur, de l'esprit, des manières; il y a à apprendre dans un tel apprentissage.* A woman like her, who has always pleased, and often been pleased, can best teach the art of pleasing—that art without which *ogni fatica è vana*. Marcel's lectures are no small part of that art: they are the engaging forerunner of all other accomplishments. Dress is also an article not to be neglected, and I hope you do not neglect it: it helps in the *premier abord*, which is often decisive. By dress, I mean your clothes being well made, fitting you, in the fashion and not above it: your hair well done, and a general cleanliness and spruceness in your person. I hope you take infinite care of your teeth: the consequences of neglecting the mouth are serious, not only to one's-self but to others. In short, my dear child, neglect nothing; a little more will complete the whole. Adieu! I have not heard from you these three weeks, which I think a great while.

London, May 10, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED yesterday, at the same time, your letters of the 4th and the 11th, N. S., and being much more careful of my commissions than you are of yours, I do not delay one moment sending you my final instructions concerning the pictures. The Man you allow to be a Titian, and in good preservation; the Woman is an indifferent and a damaged picture; but, as I want them for furniture for a particular room, companions are necessary; and therefore I am willing to take the Woman, for better for worse, upon account of the Man; and if she is not too much damaged, I can have her tolerably repaired, as many a fine woman is, by a skilful hand here; but then I expect the Lady should be, in a manner, thrown into the bargain with the Man; and in this state of affairs, the Woman being worth little or nothing, I will not go above fourscore *louis* for the two together. As for the Rembrandt you mention, though it is very cheap, if good, I do not care for it. I love *la belle nature*: Rembrandt paints caricatures. Now for your own commissions, which you seem to have forgotten. You mention nothing of the patterns which you received by Monsieur Tollot, though I told you in a former letter, which you must have had before the date of your last, that I should stay till I received the patterns pitched upon by your ladies; for as to the instructions which you sent me in Madame Monconseil's hand, I could find no mohairs in London that exactly answered that description. I shall, therefore, wait till you send me (which you may easily do in a letter) the patterns chosen by your three Graces.

I would, by all means, have you go now and then, for two or three days, to Maréchal Coigny's,* at Orli: it is but a proper civility to that family, which has been particularly civil to you; and, moreover, I would have you familiarise yourself with, and learn the interior and domestic manners of, people of that rank and fashion. I also desire that you will frequent Versailles and St. Cloud, at both which Courts you have been received with distinction. Profit by that distinction, and familiarise yourself at both. Great Courts are the seats of true good-breeding: you are to live at Courts, lose no time in learning them. Go and stay sometimes at Versailles for three or four days, where you will be domestic in the best families, by means of your friend Madame de Puisieux, and mine, L'Abbé de la Ville. Go to the King's and the Dauphin's levées, and distinguish yourself from the rest of your countrymen, who, I dare say, never go there when they can help it. Though the young Frenchmen of fashion may not be worth forming intimate connections with, they are well worth making acquaintance of; and I do not see how you can avoid it, frequenting so many good French houses as you do, where, to be sure, many of them come. Be cautious how you contract friendships, but be desirous, and even industrious, to obtain an universal acquaintance. Be easy, and even forward, in making new acquaintances: that is the only way of knowing manners and characters in general, which is at present your great object. You are *enfant de famille* in three Ministers' houses; but I wish you had a foot-

* François Comte de Coigny distinguished himself by his victories over the Imperial forces at Parma and at Guastalla in 1734. He was raised to the rank of Maréchal in 1741, and to a Dukedom in 1747, and died in 1759.

ing, at least, in thirteen; and that I should think you might easily bring about by that common chain which, to a certain degree, connects those you do not with those you do know. For instance, I suppose that neither Lord Albemarle nor Marquis de St. Germain would make the least difficulty to present you to Comte Cautnitz, the Nuncio, &c. *Il faut être rompu au monde*, which can only be done by an extensive, various, and almost universal acquaintance.

When you have got your emaciated Philomath, I desire that his triangles, rhomboids, &c., may not keep you one moment out of the good company you would otherwise be in. Swallow all your learning in the morning, but digest it in company in the evenings. The reading of ten new characters is more your business now than the reading of twenty old books: showish and shining people always get the better of all others, though ever so solid. If you would be a great man in the world when you are old, shine and be showish in it while you are young: know everybody, and endeavour to please everybody—I mean exteriorly, for fundamentally it is impossible. Try to engage the heart of every woman, and the affections of almost every man, you meet with. Madame Monconseil assures me that you are most surprisingly improved in your air, manners, and address; go on, my dear child, and never think that you are come to a sufficient degree of perfection; *nil actum reputans si quid superesset agendum*; and in those shining parts of the character of a gentleman, there is always something remaining to be acquired. Modes and manners vary in different places, and at different times; you must keep pace with them, know them, and adopt them,

wherever you find them. The great usage of the world, the knowledge of characters, the *brillant d'un galant homme*, is all that you now want. Study Marcel and the *beau monde* with great application, but read Homer and Horace only when you have nothing else to do. Pray who is *la belle Madame de Cuse*, whom I know you frequent? I like the epithet given her very well: if she deserves it, she deserves your attention too. A man of fashion should be gallant to a fine woman, though he does not make love to her, or may be otherwise engaged. *On lui doit des politesses, on fait l'éloge de ses charmes, et il n'en est ni plus ni moins pour cela*: it pleases, it flatters; you get their good word, and you lose nothing by it. These *gentillesses* should be accompanied, as indeed everything else should, with *un air, un ton de douceur et de politesse*. *Les Graces* must be of the party, or it will never do; and they are so easily had, that it is astonishing to me everybody has them not: they are sooner gained than any woman of common reputation and decency. Pursue them but with care and attention, and you are sure to enjoy them at last: without them, I am sure, you will never enjoy anybody else. You observe, truly, that Sir Charles Hotham is *gauche*; it is to be hoped that will mend with keeping company, and is yet pardonable in him, as just come from school. But reflect what you would think of a man, who had been any time in the world, and yet should be so awkward. For God's sake, therefore, now, think of nothing but shining, and even distinguishing yourself in the most polite Courts, by your air, your address, your manners, your politeness, your *douceur*, your graces. With these advantages (and not without

them), take my word for it, you will get the better of all rivals, in business as well as in *ruelles*. Adieu!

Send me your patterns by the next post, and also your instructions to Grevenkop, about the seal, which you seem to have forgotten.

London, May 16, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN about three months from this day we shall probably meet. I look upon that moment as a young woman does upon her bridal night; I expect the greatest pleasure, and yet cannot help fearing some little mixture of pain. My reason bids me doubt a little of what my imagination makes me expect. In some articles I am very sure that my most sanguine wishes will not be disappointed; and those are the most material ones. In others, I feel something or other which I can better feel than describe. However, I will attempt it. I fear the want of that amiable and engaging *je ne sais quoi*, which, as some philosophers have, unintelligibly enough, said of the soul, is all in all, and all in every part; it should shed its influence over every word and action. I fear the want of that air and first *abond* which suddenly lays hold of the heart, one does not know distinctly how nor why. I fear an inaccuracy, or at least inelegancy, of diction, which will wrong and lower the best and justest matter. And lastly, I fear an ungraceful if not an unpleasant utterance, which would disgrace and vilify the whole. Should these fears be at present founded, yet the objects of them are (thank God) of such a nature that you may, if you please, between

this and our meeting, remove every one of them. All these engaging and endearing accomplishments are mechanical, and to be acquired by care and observation as easily as turning or any mechanical trade. A common country fellow taken from the plough, and enlisted in an old corps, soon lays aside his shambling gait, his slouching air, his clumsy and awkward motions, and acquires the martial air, the regular motions, and the whole exercise of the corps, and particularly of his right and left hand man. How so? Not from his parts, which were just the same before as after he was enlisted; but either from a commendable ambition of being like, and equal to, those he is to live with, or else from the fear of being punished for not being so. If then both or either of these motives change such a fellow in about six months' time, to such a degree as that he is not to be known again, how much stronger should both these motives be with you, to acquire, in the utmost perfection, the whole exercise of the people of fashion with whom you are to live all your life? Ambition should make you resolve to be at least their equal in that exercise, as well as the fear of punishment, which most inevitably will attend the want of it. By that exercise I mean the air, the manners, the graces, and the style of people of fashion. A friend of yours, in a letter I received from him by the last post, after some other commendations of you, says: *Il est étonnant, que pensant avec tant de solidité qu'il fait, et ayant le goût aussi sûr, et aussi délicat qu'il l'a, il s'exprime avec si peu d'élégance et de délicatesse. Il néglige même totalement le choix des mots et la tournure des phrases.* This I should not be so much surprised or concerned at, if it related only to the

English language; which hitherto you have had no opportunity of studying, and but few of speaking, at least to those who could correct your inaccuracies. But if you do not express yourself elegantly and delicately in French and German, (both which languages I know you possess perfectly and speak eternally,) it can be only from an unpardonable inattention to what you most erroneously think a little object, though in truth it is one of the most important of your life. Solidity and delicacy of thought must be given us; it cannot be acquired, though it may be improved; but elegance and delicacy of expression may be acquired by whoever will take the necessary care and pains. I am sure you love me so well, that you would be very sorry, when we meet, that I should be either disappointed or mortified; and I love you so well, that I assure you I should be both if I should find you want any of those exterior accomplishments which are the indispensably necessary steps to that figure and fortune which I so earnestly wish you may one day make in the world.

I hope you do not neglect your exercises of riding, fencing, and dancing, but particularly the latter; for they all concur to *dégourdir* and to give a certain air. To ride well is not only a proper and graceful accomplishment for a gentleman, but may also save you many a fall hereafter; to fence well may possibly save your life; and to dance well is absolutely necessary, in order to sit, stand, and walk well. To tell you the truth, my friend, I have some little suspicion that you now and then neglect or omit your exercises for more serious studies. But now *non est his locus*; everything has its time; and this is yours for your

exercises; for when you return to Paris, I only propose your continuing your dancing, which you shall two years longer, if you happen to be where there is a good dancing-master. Here, I will see you take some lessons with your old master Desnoyers, who is our Marcel.

What says Madame Dupin to you? I am told she is very handsome still; I know she was so some few years ago. She has good parts, reading, manners, and delicacy; such an *arrangement* would be both creditable and advantageous to you. She will expect to meet with all the good-breeding and delicacy that she brings; and, as she is past the glare and *éclat* of youth, may be the more willing to listen to your story, if you tell it well. For an attachment, I should prefer her to *la petite Blot*; and, for a mere gallantry, I should prefer *la petite Blot* to her; so that they are consistent, *et l'une n'empêche pas l'autre*. Adieu! Remember *la douceur et les graces*.

London, May 23, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE this moment received your letter of the 25th, N. S., and being rather somewhat more attentive to my commissions than you are to yours, return you this immediate answer to the question you ask me about the two pictures: I will not give one livre more than what I told you in my last, having no sort of occasion for them, and not knowing very well where to put them if I had them.

I wait with impatience for your final orders about the mohairs; the mercer persecuting me every day,

for three pieces which I thought pretty, and which I have kept by me, eventually to secure them, in case your ladies should pitch upon them.

What do you mean by your *Si j'osois*? qu'est-ce qui vous empêche d'oser? On ose toujours quand il y a espérance de succès; et on ne perd rien à oser, quand même il n'y en a pas. Un honnête homme sait oser, et quand il faut oser il ouvre la tranchée par des travaux, des soins, et des attentions; s'il n'en est pas délogé d'abord il avance toujours à l'attaque de la place même. Après de certaines approches le succès est infaillible, et il n'y a que les nigauds qui en doutent, ou qui ne le tentent point. Seroit-ce le caractère respectable de Madame de la Valière, qui vous empêche d'oser, ou seroit-ce la vertu farouche de Madame Dupin qui vous retient? La sagesse invincible de la belle Madame Case vous décourage-t-elle plus que sa beauté ne vous invite? Mais fi donc. Soyez convaincu que la femme la plus sage se trouve flattée, bien loin d'être offensée, par une déclaration d'amour, faite avec politesse et agrément. Il se peut bien qu'elle ne s'y prêtera point, c'est à dire si elle a un goût ou une passion pour quelque autre; mais en tout cas elle ne vous en saura pas mauvais gré; de façon qu'il n'est pas question d'oser dès qu'il n'y a pas de danger. Mais si elle s'y prête, si elle écoute, et qu'elle vous permet de redoubler votre déclaration, comptez qu'elle se moquera bien de vous si vous n'osez pas tout le reste. Je vous conseille de débiter plutôt par Madame Dupin, qui a encore de la beauté plus qu'il n'en faut pour un jeune drôle comme vous; elle a aussi du monde, de l'esprit, de la délicatesse; son âge ne lui laisse pas absolument le choix de ses amans, et je vous réponds

qu'elle ne rejetteroit pas les offres de vos très humbles services. Distinguez la donc par vos attentions, et des regards tendres; et prenez les occasions favorables de lui dire à l'oreille que vous voudriez bien que l'amitié et l'estime fussent les seuls motifs de vos égards pour elle, mais que des sentimens bien plus tendres en sont les véritables sources. Que vous souffriez bien en les lui déclarant, mais que vous souffriez encore plus en les lui cachant.

Je sens bien qu'en lui disant cela pour la première fois vous aurez l'air assez sot, et assez penaud, et que vous le direz fort mal. Tant mieux, elle attribuera votre désordre à l'excès de votre amour, au lieu de l'attribuer à la véritable cause, votre peu d'usage du monde, surtout dans ces matières. En pareil cas l'amour propre est le fidèle ami de l'amant. Ne craignez donc rien, soyez galant homme: parlez bien, et on vous écoutera. Si on ne vous écoute pas la première, parlez une seconde, une troisième, une quatrième fois; si la place n'est pas déjà prise, soyez sûr qu'à la longue elle est prenable.*

I am very glad you are going to Orli, and from thence to St. Cloud; go to both, and to Versailles also, often. It is that interior, domestic familiarity with people of fashion that alone can give you *l'usage du monde, et les manières aisées*. It is only with women one loves, or men one respects, that the desire of

* This whole passage is a striking proof how greatly and how happily the tone of society has changed within the last hundred years. By the accomplished editor of Madame du Deffand's Letters the improvement in France is ascribed in no small degree to "the sufferings entailed by emigration, the exertions and the privations which it made necessary, and the virtues which it elicited." (England and France, vol. ii. p. 66, ed. 1844.)

pleasing exerts itself; and without the desire of pleasing, no man living can please. Let that desire be the spring of all your words and actions. That happy talent, the art of pleasing, which so few do, though almost all might, possess, is worth all your learning and knowledge put together. The latter can never raise you high without the former; but the former may carry you, as it has carried thousands, a great way without the latter.

I am glad that you dance so well as to be reckoned by Marcel among his best scholars; go on, and dance better still. Dancing well is pleasing *pro tanto*, and makes a part of that necessary *whole*, which is composed of a thousand parts, many of them of *les infiniment petits quoiqu'infiniment nécessaires*.

I shall never have done upon this subject, which is indispensably necessary towards your making any figure or fortune in the world; both which I have set my heart upon, and for both which you now absolutely want no one thing but the art of pleasing; and I must not conceal from you that you have still a good way to go before you arrive at it. You still want a thousand of those little attentions that imply a desire of pleasing: you want a *douceur* of air and expression that engages: you want an elegance and delicacy of expression, necessary to adorn the best sense and most solid matter: in short, you still want a great deal of the *brillant* and the *poli*. Get them at any rate; sacrifice hecatombs of books to them; seek for them in company, and renounce your closet till you have got them. I never received the letter you refer to, if ever you wrote it. Adieu, *et bon soir, Monseigneur!*

Greenwich, June 6, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

SOLICITOUS and anxious as I have ever been to form your heart, your mind, and your manners, and to bring you as near perfection as the imperfection of our natures will allow, I have exhausted, in the course of our correspondence, all that my own mind could suggest, and have borrowed from others whatever I thought could be useful to you; but this has necessarily been interruptedly, and by snatches. It is now time, and you are of an age to review, and to weigh in your own mind, all that you have heard, and all that you have read, upon these subjects; and to form your own character, your conduct, and your manners, for the rest of your life, allowing for such improvements as a farther knowledge of the world will naturally give you. In this view, I would recommend to you to read, with the greatest attention, such books as treat particularly of those subjects, reflecting seriously upon them, and then comparing the speculation with the practice. For example, if you read in the morning some of La Rochefoucault's maxims, consider them, examine them well, and compare them with the real characters you meet with in the evening. Read La Bruyère in the morning, and see in the evening whether his pictures are like. Study the heart and the mind of man, and begin with your own. Meditation and reflection must lay the foundation of that knowledge; but experience and practice must, and alone can, complete it. Books, it is true, point out the operations of the mind, the sentiments of the heart, the influence of the passions—and so far they are of previous use; but without subsequent practice, experience, and observa-

tion, they are as ineffectual, and would even lead you into as many errors, in fact, as a map would do, if you were to take your notions of the towns and provinces from their delineations in it. A man would reap very little benefit by his travels, if he made them only in his closet upon a map of the whole world. Next to the two books that I have already mentioned, I do not know a better for you to read, and seriously reflect upon, than *Avis d'une mère à un fils, par la Marquise de Lambert*.* She was a woman of a superior understanding and knowledge of the world, had always kept the best company, was solicitous that her son should make a figure and a fortune in the world, and knew better than anybody how to point out the means. It is very short, and will take you much less time to read than you ought to employ in reflecting upon it after you have read it. Her son was in the army; she wished he might rise there; but she well knew that, in order to rise, he must first please. She says to him, therefore, *à l'égard de ceux dont vous dépendez, le premier mérite est de plaire*. And, in another place, *Dans les emplois subalternes vous ne vous soutenez que par les agrémens. Les maîtres sont comme les maîtresses; quelque service que vous leur ayez rendu, ils cessent de vous aimer quand vous cessez de leur plaire*. This, I can assure you, is at least as true in Courts as in camps, and possibly moreso. If to your merit and knowledge you add the art of pleasing, you may very probably come in time to be Secretary of State; but, take my

* The volume which Lord Chesterfield mentions appeared in 1727, and the collected works of the Marquise de Lambert were published in 1748, and again in 1818. She died in 1733, at a very advanced age, *après une vie toujours infirme et une vieillesse fort souffrante*, adds M. Auger.

word for it, twice your merit and knowledge, without the art of pleasing, would, at most, raise you to the *important post* of Resident at Hamburgh or Ratisbon.* I need not tell you now, for I often have, and your own discernment must have told you, of what numberless little ingredients that art of pleasing is compounded, and how the want of the least of them lowers the whole; but the principal ingredient is, undoubtedly, *la douceur dans les manières*: nothing will give you this more than keeping company with your superiors. Madame Lambert tells her son, *que vos liaisons soient avec des personnes au dessus de vous, par là vous vous accoutumez au respect et à la politesse; avec ses égaux on se néglige, l'esprit s'assoupit*. She advises him, too, to frequent those people, and to see their inside: *il est bon d'approcher les hommes, de les voir à découvert, et avec leur mérite de tous les jours*. A happy expression! It was for this reason that I have so often advised you to establish and domesticate yourself, wherever you can, in good houses of people above you, that you may see their *everyday* character, manners, habits, &c. One must see people undressed to judge truly of their shape; when they are dressed to go abroad, their clothes are contrived to conceal, or at least palliate, the defects of it—as full-bottomed wigs were contrived for the Duke of Burgundy,† to conceal his hump-back. Happy those who have no faults to disguise, nor weaknesses to conceal! There are few, if any such; but unhappy those, who know

* It is remarkable, that both these appointments were afterwards at different times held by Mr. Stanhope.

† Louis, the eldest grandson of Louis XIV., and the pupil of Fénelon. he died at the prime of life, and to the great grief of the nation, in 1712.

so little of the world as to judge by outward appearances! Courts are the best keys to characters: there every passion is busy, every art exerted, every character analysed; jealousy, ever watchful, not only discovers, but exposes, the mysteries of the trade, so that even bystanders *y apprennent à deviner*. There, too, the great art of pleasing is practised, taught, and learned, with all its graces and delicacies. It is the first thing needful there: it is the absolutely necessary harbinger of merit and talents, let them be ever so great. There is no advancing a step without it. Let misanthropes and would-be philosophers declaim as much as they please against the vices, the simulation, and dissimulation of Courts: those invectives are always the result of ignorance, ill-humour, or envy. Let them show me a cottage, where there are not the same vices of which they accuse Courts: with this difference only, that in a cottage they appear in their native deformity, and that in Courts, manners and good-breeding make them less shocking, and blunt their edge. No, be convinced that the good-breeding, the *tournure, la douceur dans les manières*, which alone are to be acquired at Courts, are not the showish trifles only which some people call or think them: they are a solid good; they prevent a great deal of real mischief; they create, adorn, and strengthen friendships; they keep hatred within bounds; they promote good-humour and good-will in families, where the want of good-breeding and gentleness of manners is commonly the original cause of discord. Get, then, before it is too late, an habit of these *mitiores virtutes*; practise them upon every the least occasion, that they may be easy and familiar to you upon the greatest;

for they lose a great degree of their merit if they seem laboured, and only called in upon extraordinary occasions. I tell you truly, this is now the only doubtful part of your character with me; and it is for that reason that I dwell upon it so much, and inculcate it so often. I shall soon see whether this doubt of mine is founded; or rather, I hope I shall soon see that it is not.

This moment I receive your letter of the 9th, N.S. I am sorry to find that you have had, though ever so slight, a return of your Carniolan disorder; and I hope your conclusion will prove a true one, and that this will be the last. I will send the mohairs by the first opportunity. As for the pictures, I am already so full, that I am resolved not to buy one more, unless by great accident I should meet with something surprisingly good, and as surprisingly cheap.

I should have thought that Lord Huntingdon, at his age, and with his parts and address, need not have been reduced to keep an opera w——, in such a place as Paris, where so many women of fashion generously serve as volunteers. I am still more sorry that he is in love with her, for that will take him out of good company, and sink him into bad—such as fiddlers, pipers, and *id genus omne*: most unedifying and unbecoming company for a man of fashion!

Lady Chesterfield makes you a thousand compliments. Adieu, my dear child!

Greenwich, June 10, O. S. 1761.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR ladies were so slow in giving their specific orders, that the mohairs, of which you at last sent me the patterns, were all sold. However, to prevent farther delays, (for ladies are apt to be very impatient, when at last they know their own minds,) I have taken the quantities desired of three mohairs which come nearest to the description you sent me some time ago in Madame Monconseil's own hand, and I will send them to Calais by the first opportunity. In giving *la petite Blot* her piece, you have a fine occasion of saying fine things, if so inclined.

Lady Hervey, who is your puff and panegyrist, writes me word, that she saw you lately dance at a ball, and that you dance very genteelly. I am extremely glad to hear it; for (by the maxim that *omne majus continet in se minus*), if you dance genteelly, I presume you walk, sit, and stand genteelly too; things which are much more easy, though much more necessary, than dancing well. I have known many very genteel people who could not dance well; but I never knew anybody dance very well who was not genteel in other things. You will probably often have occasion to stand in circles, at the levées of Princes and Ministers, when it is very necessary *de payer de sa personne, et d'être bien planté*, with your feet not too near nor too distant from each other. More people stand, and walk, than sit genteelly. Awkward ill-bred people, being ashamed, commonly sit up bolt upright and stiff; others, too negligent and easy, *se vautrent dans leur fauteuil*, which is ungraceful and ill-bred, unless where the familiarity is extreme: but

a man of fashion makes himself easy, and appears so, by leaning gracefully, instead of lolling supinely; and by varying those easy attitudes, instead of that stiff immobility of a bashful booby. You cannot conceive, nor can I express, how advantageous a good air, genteel motions, and engaging address are, not only among women, but among men, and even in the course of business; they fascinate the affections, they steal a preference, they play about the heart till they engage it. I know a man, and so do you, who, without a grain of merit, knowledge, or talents, has raised himself millions of degrees above his level, singly by a good air and engaging manners; insomuch, that the very prince who raised him so high, calls him, *mon aimable raurien*:* but of this do not open your lips, *pour cause*. I give you this secret, as the strongest proof imaginable of the efficacy of air, address, *tour-nure, et tous ces petits riens*.

Your other puff and panegyrist, Mr. Harte, is gone to Windsor, in his way to Cornwall, in order to be back soon enough to meet you here; I really believe he is as impatient for that moment as I am, *et c'est tout dire*: but however, notwithstanding my impatience, if by chance you should then be in a situation, that leaving Paris would cost your heart too many pangs, I allow you to put off your journey, and to tell me, as Festus did Paul, *at a more convenient season I will speak to thee*. You see by this that I eventually sacrifice my sentiments to yours, and this in a very

* This allusion, like a former one in the letter of October 22, 1750, seems to point to the Maréchal Duc de Richelieu. Once, it is said, Louis XV., by a slight variation of phrase, instead of *mon aimable raurien*, called him to his face *le plus grand raurien de France*. Sire, replied the Maréchal, with a low bow, *Votre Majesté s'oublie*!

uncommon object of paternal complaisance. Provided always, and be it understood, (as they say in acts of parliament) that *quæ te cumque domat Venus, non erubescendis adurit ignibus*. If your heart will let you come, bring with you only your valet-de-chambre, Christian, and your own footman; not your valet-de-place, whom you may dismiss for the time, as also your coach; but you had best keep on your lodgings, the intermediate expense of which will be but inconsiderable, and you will want them to leave your books and baggage in. Bring only the clothes you travel in, one suit of black, for the mourning for the Prince will not be quite out by that time, and one suit of your fine clothes, two or three of your laced shirts, and the rest plain ones: of other things, as bags, feathers, &c., as you think proper. Bring no books, unless two or three for your amusement upon the road; for we must apply singly to English, in which you are certainly no *puriste*, and I will supply you sufficiently with the proper English authors. I shall probably keep you here till about the middle of October, and certainly not longer; it being absolutely necessary for you to pass the next winter at Paris; so that, should any fine eyes shed tears for your departure, you may dry them by the promise of your return in two months.

Have you got a master for geometry? If the weather is very hot, you may leave your riding at the *manège* till you return to Paris, unless you think the exercise does you more good than the heat can do you harm: but I desire you will not leave off Marcel for one moment: your fencing likewise, if you have a mind, may subside for the summer; but you will do well to resume it in the winter, and to be *adroit* at it,

but by no means for offence, only for defence in case of necessity. Good night! Yours.

P.S.—I forgot to give you one commission when you come here; which is, not to fail bringing the *Graces* along with you.

Greenwich, June 13, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Les bienséances are a most necessary part of the knowledge of the world. They consist in the relations of persons, things, time, and place; good sense points them out, good company perfects them, (supposing always an attention and a desire to please) and good policy recommends them.

Were you to converse with a King, you ought to be as easy and unembarrassed as with your own valet-de-chambre: but yet every look, word, and action, should imply the utmost respect. What would be proper and well-bred with others, much your superiors, would be absurd and ill-bred with one so very much so. You must wait till you are spoken to; you must receive, not give, the subject of conversation; and you must even take care that the given subject of such conversation do not lead you into any impropriety. The art would be to carry it, if possible, to some indirect flattery: such as commending those virtues in some other person, in which that Prince either thinks he does, or at least would be thought by others to excel. Almost the same precautions are necessary to be used with Ministers, Generals, &c. who expect to be treated with very near the same respect as their masters, and commonly deserve it better. There is, however, this

difference, that one may begin the conversation with them, if on their side it should happen to drop, provided one does not carry it to any subject, upon which it is improper either for them to speak or be spoken to. In these two cases, certain attitudes and actions would be extremely absurd, because too easy, and consequently disrespectful. As for instance, if you were to put your arms across in your bosom, twirl your snuff-box, trample with your feet, scratch your head, &c., it would be shockingly ill-bred in that company; and, indeed, not extremely well-bred in any other. The great difficulty in those cases, though a very surmountable one by attention and custom, is to join perfect inward ease with perfect outward respect.

In mixed companies with your equals (for in mixed companies all people are to a certain degree equal) greater ease and liberty are allowed; but they too have their bounds within *bienséance*. There is a social respect necessary: you may start your own subject of conversation with modesty, taking great care, however, *de ne jamais parler de cordes dans la maison d'un pendu*. Your words, gestures, and attitudes, have a greater degree of latitude, though by no means an unbounded one. You may have your hands in your pockets, take snuff, sit, stand, or occasionally walk, as you like; but I believe you would not think it very *bienséant* to whistle, put on your hat, loosen your garters or your buckles, lie down upon a couch, or go to bed and welter in an easy chair. These are negligences and freedoms which one can only take when quite alone: they are injurious to superiors, shocking and offensive to equals, brutal and insulting to inferiors. That easiness of carriage and

behaviour, which is exceedingly engaging, widely differs from negligence and inattention, and by no means implies that one may do whatever one pleases; it only means that one is not to be stiff, formal, embarrassed, disconcerted, and ashamed, like country bumpkins, and people who have never been in good company; but it requires great attention to, and a scrupulous observation of *les bienséances*: whatever one ought to do, is to be done with ease and unconcern; whatever is improper must not be done at all. In mixed companies also, different ages and sexes are to be differently addressed. You would not talk of your pleasures to men of a certain age, gravity, and dignity; they justly expect from young people a degree of deference and regard. You should be full as easy with them as with people of your own years: but your manner must be different; more respect must be implied; and it is not amiss to insinuate, that from them you expect to learn. It flatters and comforts age, for not being able to take a part in the joy and titter of youth. To women you should always address yourself with great outward respect and attention, whatever you feel inwardly; their sex is by long prescription entitled to it; and it is among the duties of *bienséance*: at the same time that respect is very properly and very agreeably mixed with a degree of *enjouement*, if you have it: but then, that *badinage* must either directly or indirectly tend to their praise, and even not be liable to a malicious construction to their disadvantage. But here too great attention must be had to the difference of age, rank, and situation. A *Maréchale* of fifty must not be played with like a young coquette of fifteen: respect and *serious enjouement*.

ment, if I may couple those two words, must be used with the former, and mere *badinage*, *zesté même d'un peu de polissonnerie*, is pardonable with the latter.

Another important point of *les bienséances*, seldom enough attended to, is, not to run your own present humour and disposition indiscriminately against everybody; but to observe, conform to, and adopt theirs. For example, if you happened to be in high good-humour and a flow of spirits, would you go and sing a *pont-neuf*, or cut a caper, to la Maréchale de Coigny, the Pope's Nuncio, or Abbé Sallier, or to any person of natural gravity and melancholy, or who at that time should be in grief? I believe not: as, on the other hand, I suppose, that if you were in low spirits, or real grief, you would not choose to bewail your situation with *la petite Blot*. If you cannot command your present humour and disposition, single out those to converse with who happen to be in the humour the nearest to your own.

Loud laughter is extremely inconsistent with *les bienséances*, as it is only the illiberal and noisy testimony of the joy of the mob at some very silly thing. A gentleman is often seen, but very seldom heard, to laugh. Nothing is more contrary to *les bienséances* than horse play, or *jeux de main* of any kind whatever, and has often very serious, sometimes very fatal consequences. Romping, struggling, throwing things at one another's head, are the becoming pleasantries of the mob, but degrade a gentleman; *giuoco di mano*, *giuoco de villano*, is a very true saying, among the few true sayings of the Italians.

Peremptoriness and decision in young people is *contraire aux bienséances*: they should seldom seem

to assert, and always use some softening mitigating expression—such as *s'il m'est permis de le dire ; je croirois plutôt ; si j'ose m'expliquer*, which softens the manner, without giving up, or even weakening the thing. People of more age and experience expect, and are entitled to, that degree of deference.

There is a *bienséance* also with regard to people of the lowest degree: a gentleman observes it with his footman, even with the beggar in the street. He considers them as objects of compassion, not of insult; he speaks to neither *d'un ton brusque*, but corrects the one coolly, and refuses the other with humanity. There is no one occasion in the world, in which *le ton brusque* is becoming a gentleman. In short, *les bienséances* are another word for *manners*, and extend to every part of life. They are propriety; the Graces should attend in order to complete them. The Graces enable us to do, genteelly and pleasingly, what *les bienséances* require to be done at all. The latter are an obligation upon every man; the former are an infinite advantage and ornament to any man. May you unite both!

Though you dance well, do not think that you dance well enough, and consequently not endeavour to dance still better. And though you should be told that you are genteel, still aim at being genteeler. If Marcel should, do not you be satisfied. Go on; court the Graces all your life-time. You will find no better friends at Court: they will speak in your favour, to the hearts of princes, ministers, and mistresses.

Now that all tumultuous passions and quick sensations have subsided with me, and that I have no tormenting cares nor boisterous pleasures to agitate

me, my greatest joy is to consider the fair prospect you have before you, and to hope and believe you will enjoy it. You are already in the world, at an age when others have hardly heard of it. Your character is hitherto not only unblemished in its moral part, but even unsullied by any low, dirty, and ungentlemanlike vice, and will, I hope, continue so. Your knowledge is sound, extensive, and avowed, especially in everything relative to your destination. With such materials to begin, what then is wanting? Not fortune, as you have found by experience. You have had, and shall have, fortune sufficient to assist your merit and your industry; and, if I can help it, you never shall have enough to make you negligent of either. You have too *mens sana in corpore sano*—the greatest blessing of all. All therefore that you want is as much in your power to acquire, as to eat your breakfast when set before you. It is only that knowledge of the world, that elegance of manners, that universal politeness, and those graces, which keeping good company, and seeing variety of places and characters, must inevitably, with the least attention on your part, give you. Your foreign destination leads to the greatest things, and your Parliamentary situation will facilitate your progress. Consider then this pleasing prospect as attentively for yourself, as I consider it for you. Labour on your part to realise it, as I will on mine to assist and enable you to do it. *Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia.*

Adieu, my dear child! I count the days till I have the pleasure of seeing you. I shall soon count the hours, and at last the minutes, with increasing impatience.

P. S.—The mohairs are this day gone from hence for Calais, recommended to the care of Madame Morel, and directed, as desired, to the Comptroller-General. The three pieces come to six hundred and eighty French livres.

Greenwich, June 20, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

So very few people, especially young travellers, see what they see, or hear what they hear, that though I really believe it may be unnecessary with you, yet there can be no harm in reminding you, from time to time, to see what you see, and to hear what you hear: that is, to see and hear as you should do. Frivolous, futile people, who make at least three parts in four of mankind, only desire to see and hear what their frivolous and futile præ-cursors have seen and heard—as St. Peter's, the Pope, and High Mass, at Rome; Notre Dame, Versailles, the French King, and the French Comedy, in France. A man of parts sees and hears very differently from these gentlemen, and a great deal more. He examines and informs himself thoroughly of everything he sees or hears, and, more particularly, as it is relative to his own profession or destination. Your destination is political; the object, therefore, of your inquiries and observations should be the political interior of things: the forms of government, laws, regulations, customs, trade, manufactures, &c., of the several nations of Europe. This knowledge is much better acquired by conversation, with sensible and well-informed people, than by books—the best of which, upon these subjects, are always imperfect. For example, there are, Present States of France, as

there are of England; but they are always defective, being published by people uninformed, who only copy one another. They are, however, worth looking into, because they point out objects for inquiry, which otherwise might possibly never have occurred to one's mind; but an hour's conversation with a sensible *Président* or *Conseiller*, will let you more into the true state of the Parliament of Paris than all the books in France. In the same manner, the *Almanach Militaire* is worth your having; but two or three conversations with officers will inform you much better of their military regulations. People have, commonly, a partiality for their own professions, love to talk of them, and are even flattered by being consulted upon the subject; when, therefore, you are with any of those military gentlemen (and you can hardly be in any company without some) ask them military questions. Inquire into their methods of discipline, quartering, and clothing their men; inform yourself of their pay, their perquisites, *leurs montres, leurs étapes, &c.* Do the same as to the *marine*, and make yourself particularly master of that *détail*, which has, and always will have, a great relation to the affairs of England; and, in proportion as you get good informations, make minutes of them in writing.

The regulations of trade and commerce in France are excellent, as appears but too plainly for us, by the great increase of both, within these thirty years; for, not to mention their extensive commerce in both the East and West Indies, they have got the whole trade of the Levant from us; and now supply all the foreign markets with their sugars, to the ruin almost of our sugar colonies, as Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Lee-

ward Islands. Get therefore, what informations you can of these matters also.

Inquire too into their Church matters; for which the present disputes, between the Court and the Clergy, give you fair and frequent opportunities. Know the particular rights of the Gallican Church, in opposition to the pretensions of the See of Rome. I need not recommend ecclesiastical history to you, since I hear you study *Dupin** very assiduously.

You cannot imagine how much this solid and useful knowledge of other countries will distinguish you in your own (where, to say the truth, it is very little known or cultivated) besides the great use it is of in all foreign negociations: not to mention, that it enables a man to shine in all companies. When Kings and Princes have any knowledge, it is of this sort, and more particularly: therefore it is the usual topic of their levée conversations, in which it will qualify you to bear a considerable part: it brings you more acquainted with them; and they are pleased to have people talk to them on a subject in which they think to shine.

There is a sort of chit-chat, or *small-talk*, which is the general run of conversation at Courts, and in most mixed companies. It is a sort of middling conversation, neither silly nor edifying; but, however, very necessary for you to be master of. It turns upon the public events of Europe, and then is at its best; very often upon the number, the goodness, or badness, the discipline, or the clothing of the troops of different

* Dupin's *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, a collection extending to sixty-one volumes, was published in 1698, and in the following years. But Lord Chesterfield's real allusion is to the *Œuvres* of Madame Dupin mentioned in the former letters.

Princes; sometimes upon the families, the marriages, the relations of Princes, and considerable people; and, sometimes, *sur la bonne chère*, the magnificence of public entertainments, balls, masquerades, &c. I would wish you to be able to talk upon all these things, better, and with more knowledge than other people; insomuch that, upon those occasions, you should be applied to, and that people should say, *I dare say Mr. Stanhope can tell us.*

Second-rate knowledge, and middling talents, carry a man farther at Courts, and in the busy part of the world, than superior knowledge and shining parts. Tacitus very justly accounts for a man's having always kept in favour, and enjoyed the best employments, under the tyrannical reigns of three or four of the very worst Emperors, by saying that it was not *propter aliquam eximiam artem, sed quia par negotiis neque supra erat.* Discretion is the great article; all those things are to be learned, and only learned by keeping a great deal of the best company. Frequent those good houses where you have already a footing, and wriggle yourself somehow or other into every other. Haunt the Courts particularly, in order to get that *routine*.

This moment I receive yours of the 18th, N.S. You will have had some time ago my final answers concerning the pictures; and, by my last, an account that the mohairs were gone to Madame Morel at Calais, with the proper directions.

I am sorry that your two sons-in-law, the Princes B(orghese),* are such boobies: however, as they have

* The name of "sons-in-law" to these young Princes was a pleasantry of Lord Chesterfield, founded on the acquaintance of Mr. Stanhope with their mother at Rome.

the honour of being so nearly related to you, I will show them what civilities I can.

I confess you have not time for long absences from Paris at present, because of your various masters, all which I would have you apply to closely while you are now in that capital: but when you return thither, after the visit you intend me the honour of, I do not propose your having any master at all, except Marcel once or twice a week. And then the Courts will, I hope, be no longer strange countries to you; for I would have you run down frequently to Versailles and St. Cloud for three or four days at a time. You know the Abbé de la Ville, who will present you to others, so that you will soon be *faufilé* with the rest of the Court. Court is the soil in which you are to grow and flourish; you ought to be well acquainted with the nature of it: like all other soil, it is in some places deeper, in others lighter, but always capable of great improvement by cultivation and experience.

You say that you want some hints for a letter to Lady Chesterfield; more use and knowledge of the world will teach you occasionally to write and talk genteelly, *sur des riens*, which I can tell you is a very useful part of worldly knowledge; for, in some companies, it would be imprudent to talk upon anything else, and with very many people it is impossible to talk of anything else; they would not understand you. Adieu!

London, June 24, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AIR, address, manners, and graces, are of such infinite advantage to whoever has them, and so peculiarly and essentially necessary for you, that now, as

the time of our meeting draws near, I tremble for fear I should not find you possessed of them; and, to tell you the truth, I doubt you are not yet sufficiently convinced of their importance. There is, for instance, your intimate friend, Mr. H(ayes),* who, with great merit, deep knowledge, and a thousand good qualities, will never make a figure in the world while he lives: Why? Merely for want of those external and showish accomplishments which he began the world too late to acquire; and which, with his studious and philosophical turn, I believe he thinks are not worth his attention. He may very probably make a figure in the republic of letters; but he had ten thousand times better make a figure as a man of the world and of business in the republic of the United Provinces; which, take my word for it, he never will.

As I open myself, without the least reserve, whenever I think that my doing so can be of any use to you, I will give you a short account of myself when I first came into the world, which was at the age you are of now, so that (by the way) you have got the start of me in that important article by two or three years at least. At nineteen, I left the university of Cambridge, where I was an absolute pedant: when I talked my best, I quoted Horace; when I aimed at being facetious, I quoted Martial; and when I had a mind to be a fine gentleman, I talked Ovid. I was convinced that none but the ancients had common sense; that the classics contained everything that was either necessary, useful, or ornamental to men; and I was not without thoughts of wearing the *toga virilis* of the Romans, instead of the vulgar and illiberal dress of

* See the subsequent letter of July 8, 1751.

the moderns. With these excellent notions, I went first to the Hague, where by the help of several letters of recommendation, I was soon introduced into all the best company, and where I very soon discovered that I was totally mistaken in almost every one notion I had entertained. Fortunately I had a strong desire to please (the mixed result of good-nature, and a vanity by no means blameable), and was sensible that I had nothing but the desire. I therefore resolved, if possible, to acquire the means too. I studied attentively and minutely the dress, the air, the manner, the address, and the turn of conversation of all those whom I found to be the people in fashion, and most generally allowed to please. I imitated them as well as I could: if I heard that one man was reckoned remarkably genteel, I carefully watched his dress, motions, and attitudes, and formed my own upon them. When I heard of another whose conversation was agreeable and engaging, I listened and attended to the turn of it. I addressed myself, though *de très mauvaise grace*, to all the most fashionable fine ladies; confessed and laughed with them at my own awkwardness and rawness, recommending myself as an object for them to try their skill in forming. By these means, and with a passionate desire of pleasing every body, I came by degrees to please some; and I can assure you, that what little figure I have made in the world, has been much more owing to that passionate desire I had of pleasing universally, than to any intrinsic merit or sound knowledge I might ever have been master of. My passion for pleasing was so strong (and I am very glad it was so), that I own to you fairly, I wished to make every woman I saw in love

with me, and every man I met with admire me. Without this passion for the object, I should never have been so attentive to the means; and I own I cannot conceive how it is possible for any man of good-nature and good sense to be without this passion. Does not good-nature incline us to please all those we converse with, of whatever rank or station they may be? And does not good sense and common observation show of what infinite use it is to please? Oh! but one may please by the good qualities of the heart, and the knowledge of the head, without that fashionable air, address, and manner, which is mere tinsel. I deny it. A man may be esteemed and respected, but I defy him to please without them. Moreover, at your age, I would not have contented myself with barely pleasing; I wanted to shine and to distinguish myself in the world as a man of fashion and gallantry, as well as business. And that ambition or vanity, call it what you please, was a right one; it hurt nobody, and made me exert whatever talents I had. It is the spring of a thousand right and good things.

I was talking you over the other day with one very much your friend, and who had often been with you, both at Paris and in Italy. Among the innumerable questions which you may be sure I asked him concerning you, I happened to mention your dress (for, to say the truth, it was the only thing of which I thought him a competent judge), upon which he said that you dressed tolerably well at Paris; but that in Italy you dressed so ill, that he used to joke with you upon it, and even to tear your clothes. Now, I must tell you, that at your age it is as ridiculous not to be very well dressed, as at my age it would be if I were

to wear a white feather and red-heeled shoes. Dress is one of the various ingredients that contribute to the art of pleasing; it pleases the eyes at least, and more especially of women. Address yourself to the senses if you would please; dazzle the eyes, soothe and flatter the ears of mankind; engage their heart, and let their reason do its worst against you. *Suaviter in modo* is the great secret. Whenever you find yourself engaged insensibly in favour of anybody of no superior merit or distinguished talent, examine and see what it is that has made those impressions upon you: you will find it to be that *douceur*, that gentleness of manners, that air and address, which I have so often recommended to you; and from thence draw this obvious conclusion, that what pleases you in them will please others in you; for we are all made of the same clay, though some of the lumps are a little finer, and some a little coarser; but, in general, the surest way to judge of others is to examine and analyse one's self thoroughly. When we meet, I will assist you in that analysis, in which every man wants some assistance against his own self-love. Adieu.

Greenwich, June 30, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

PRAY give the enclosed to our friend the Abbé;* it is to congratulate him upon his *canonical*, which I am really very glad of, and I hope it will fatten him up to Boileau's *Chanoine*; at present he is as meagre as an Apostle or a Prophet. By the way, has he ever introduced you to la Duchesse d'Aiguillon?† If he

* Guasco.

† This was probably the Duchess Dowager, Anne Charlotte de

has not, make him present you; and if he has, frequent her, and make her many compliments from me. She has uncommon sense and knowledge for a woman, and her house is the resort of one set of *les beaux esprits*. It is a satisfaction and a sort of credit to be acquainted with those gentlemen, and it puts a young fellow in fashion. *A propos des beaux esprits*; have you *les entrées* at Lady Sandwich's,* who, old as she was, when I saw her last, had the strongest parts of any woman I ever knew in my life? If you are not acquainted with her, either the Duchess d'Aiguillon or Lady Hervey can, and I dare say will, introduce you. I can assure you it is very well worth your while, both upon her own account, and for the sake of the people of wit and learning who frequent her. In such companies there is always something to be learned, as well as manners: the conversation turns upon something above trifles: some point of literature, criticism, history, &c., is discussed with ingenuity and good manners; for I must do the French people of learning justice; they are not bears, as most of ours are; they are gentlemen.

Our Abbé writes me word that you were gone to Compiègne; I am very glad of it: other Courts must form you for your own. He tells me too, that you

Crussol de Florençac. According to M. Adolphe Lescourd, "elle avait une physionomie douce et qui prévenait en sa faveur;" and she was surnamed at Court *la bonne Duchesse d'Aiguillon*. She translated Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*, and also one of Ossian's poems, into French. Her son, Armand de Vignerot, Duc d'Aiguillon, born in 1720, became one of the worst ministers of one of the worst periods in French history.

* Elizabeth, daughter of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and widow of Edward Montague, third Earl of Sandwich. She died at Paris in 1757.

have left off riding at the *manège*; I have no objection to that, it takes up a great deal of the morning; and if you have got a genteel and firm seat on horse-back, it is enough for you, now that tilts and tournaments are laid aside. I suppose you have hunted at Compiègne. The King's hunting there, I am told, is a fine sight. The French manner of hunting is gentleman-like; ours is only for bumpkins and boobies. The poor beasts here are pursued and run down by much greater beasts than themselves; and the true British fox-hunter is most undoubtedly a species appropriated and peculiar to this country, which no other part of the globe produces.

I hope you apply the time you have saved from the riding-house to useful, more than to learned purposes; for I can assure you, they are very different things. I would have you allow but one hour a day for Greek; and that more to keep what you have than to increase it: by Greek, I mean useful Greek books, such as Demosthenes, Thucydides, &c., and not the poets, with whom you are already enough acquainted. Your Latin will take care of itself. Whatever more time you have for reading, pray bestow it upon those books which are immediately relative to your destination; such as modern history in the modern languages; memoirs, anecdotes, letters, negotiations, &c. Collect also, if you can, authentically, the present state of all the Courts and countries in Europe, the characters of the Kings and Princes, their wives, their ministers, and their w——; their several views, connections and interests; the state of their *finances*, their military force, their trade, manufactures, and commerce. That is the useful, the necessary knowledge for you, and

indeed for every gentleman. But with all this, remember that living books are much better than dead ones; and throw away no time (for it is thrown away) with the latter, which you can employ well with the former; for books must now be only your amusement, but by no means your business. I had much rather that you were passionately in love with some determined coquette of condition, (who would lead you a dance, fashion, supple, and polish you) than that you knew all Plato and Aristotle by heart: an hour at Versailles, Compiègne, or St. Cloud, is now worth more to you than three hours in your closet with the best books that ever were written.

I hear the dispute between the Court and the Clergy is made up amicably; both parties have yielded something; the King being afraid of losing more of his soul, and the Clergy more of their revenue. Those gentlemen are very skilful in making the most of the vices, and the weaknesses of the laity. I hope you have read and informed yourself fully of every thing relative to that affair; it is a very important question, in which the priesthood of every country in Europe is highly concerned. If you would be thoroughly convinced that their tithes are of divine institution, and their property the property of God himself, not to be touched by any power on earth, read Frà-Paolo *de beneficiis*, an excellent and short book; for which, and some other treatises against the Court of Rome, he was stiletto'd; which made him say afterwards, upon seeing an anonymous book written against him, by order of the Pope, *Conosco bene lo stile Romano*.

The Parliament of Paris, and the States of Languedoc, will, I believe, hardly scramble off; having

only reason and justice, but no terrors on their side.* Those are political and constitutional questions that well deserve your attention and inquiries; I hope you are thoroughly master of them. It is also worth your while to collect and keep all the pieces written upon those subjects.

I hope you have been thanked by your ladies, at least, if not paid in money, for the mohairs which I sent by a courier to Paris some time ago, instead of sending them to Madame Morel at Calais, as I told you I should. Do they like them, and do they like you the better for getting them? *La petite Blot devoit au moins payer de sa personne.* As for Madame de Polignac, I believe you will very willingly hold her excused from personal payment.

Before you return to England, pray go again to Orli for two or three days, and also to St. Cloud, in order to secure a good reception there at your return. Ask the Marquis de Matignon, too, if he has any orders for you in England, or any letters or packets for Lord Bolingbroke. Adieu! Go on and prosper.

Greenwich, July 8, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE last mail brought me your letter of the 3rd July, N. S. I am glad that you are so well with

* "Au mois du Mai, 1751, un nouvel édit porta création de deux millions de rentes viagères sur l'Hotel de Ville et de 900,000 livres de rentes héréditaires sur la ferme des postes; le tout estimé équivaloir à un emprunt de cinquante millions. Le Parlement (de Paris) se crut obligé à faire des représentations nouvelles . . . Les Etats de Languedoc se plaignirent très hautement."—Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 18.

Colonel Yorke as to be let into secret correspondences. Lord Albemarle's reserve to you is, I believe, more owing to his secretary than to himself; for you seem to be much in favour with him; and possibly, too, *he has no very secret letters* to communicate. However, take care not to discover the least dissatisfaction upon this score: make the proper acknowledgments to Colonel Yorke for what he does show you; but let neither Lord Albemarle nor his people perceive the least coldness on your part upon account of what they do not show you. It is very often necessary not to manifest all one feels. Make your court to, and connect yourself as much as possible with Colonel Yorke; he may be of great use to you hereafter; and when you take leave, not only offer to bring over any letters or packets by way of security, but even ask, as a favour, to be the carrier of a letter from him to his father the Chancellor. *A propos* of your coming here: I confess that I am weakly impatient for it, and think a few days worth getting; I would, therefore, instead of the 25th of next month, N.S., which was the day that some time ago I appointed for your leaving Paris, have you set out on Friday the 20th of August, N.S.; in consequence of which you will be at Calais some time on the Sunday following, and probably at Dover within four-and-twenty hours afterwards. If you land in the morning, you may in a post-chaise get to Sittingborne that day; if you come on shore in the evening, you can only get to Canterbury, where you will be better lodged than at Dover. I will not have you travel in the night, nor fatigue and overheat yourself, by running on fourscore miles the moment you land. You will come straight to Blackheath, where

I shall be ready to meet you, and which is directly upon the Dover road to London; and we will go to town together, after you have rested yourself a day or two here. All the other directions, which I gave you in my former letter, hold still the same. But, notwithstanding this regulation, should you have any particular reasons for leaving Paris two or three days sooner or later than the above-mentioned, *vous êtes le maître*. Make all your *arrangemens* at Paris for about a six weeks stay in England, at farthest.

I had a letter the other day from Lord Huntingdon, of which one-half at least was your panegyric: it was extremely welcome to me from so good an hand. Cultivate that friendship; it will do you honour, and give you strength. Connections, in our mixed Parliamentary government, are of great use.

I send you here enclosed the particular price of each of the mohairs, but I do not suppose that you will receive a shilling for any one of them. However, if any of your ladies should take an odd fancy to pay, the shortest way, in the course of business, is for you to keep the money, and to take so much less from Sir John Lambert* in your next draft upon him.

I am very sorry to hear that Lady Hervey is ill. Paris does not seem to agree with her; she used to have great health here. *A propos* of her; remember, when you are with me, not to mention her but when you and I are quite alone, for reasons which I will tell you when we meet; but this is only between you and me, and I desire that you will not so much as hint it to her, or anybody else.

* A Banker at Paris.

If old Kurzay* goes to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, I cannot help it: it will be an ease to our friend Madame Monconseil, who I believe maintains her, and a little will not satisfy her in any way.

Remember to bring your mother some little presents: they need not be of value, but only marks of your affection and duty for one who has always been tenderly fond of you. You may bring Lady Chesterfield a little Martin snuff-box, of about five louis; and you need bring over no other presents—you and I not wanting *les petits présens pour entretenir l'amitié*.

Since I wrote what goes before, I have talked you over minutely with Lord Albemarle, who told me that he could very sincerely commend you upon every article but one; but upon that one you were often joked, both by him and others. I desired to know what that was; he laughed, and told me it was the article of dress, in which you were exceedingly negligent. Though he laughed, I can assure you that it is no laughing matter for you; and you will possibly be surprised when I assert (but, upon my word, it is literally true) that to be very well dressed is of much more importance to you, than all the Greek you know will be of these thirty years. Remember, the world is now your only business, and you must adopt its customs and manners, be they silly, or be they not. To neglect your dress, is an affront to all the women you keep company with, as it implies that you do not

* This lady was mother of Madame de Monconseil. A satirical sketch of both is given by Madame du Deffand: "Je prétendois qu'on avoit dans sa cuillère le portrait de Madame de Cursay, et de Madame de Monconseil, de la première en se regardant dans le large, et de la seconde en la prenant de l'autre sens;" (Lettre à H. Walpole, du 23 Mars, 1777.)

think them worth that attention which everybody else does; they mind dress, and you will never please them if you neglect yours; and if you do not please the women, you will not please half the men you otherwise might. It is the women who put a young fellow in fashion, even with the men. A young fellow ought to have a certain fund of coquetry, which should make him try all the means of pleasing, as much as any coquette in Europe can do. Old as I am, and little thinking of women, God knows, I am very far from being negligent of my dress; and why?—from conformity to custom; and out of decency to men, who expect that degree of complaisance. I do not, indeed, wear feathers and red heels, which would ill-suit my age; but I take care to have my clothes well made, my wig well combed and powdered, my linen and person extremely clean. I even allow my footmen forty shillings a year extraordinary, that they may be spruce and neat. Your figure especially, which from its stature cannot be very majestic and interesting, should be the more attended to in point of dress: as it cannot be *imposante*, it should be *gentille*, *aimable*, *bien mise*. It will not admit of negligence and carelessness.

I believe Mr. Hayes thinks you have slighted him a little of late, since you have got into so much other company. I do not, by any means, blame you for not frequenting his house so much as you did at first, before you had got into so many other houses, more entertaining and more instructing than his; on the contrary, you do very well; however, as he was extremely civil to you, take care to be so to him, and make up in manner what you omit in matter. See him, dine

with him before you come away, and ask his commands for England.

Your triangular seal is done, and I have given it to an English gentleman, who sets out in a week for Paris, and who will deliver it to Sir John Lambert for you.

I cannot conclude this letter without returning again to the showish, the ornamental, the shining parts of your character; which, if you neglect, upon my word you will render the solid ones absolutely useless: nay, such is the present turn of the world, that some valuable qualities are even ridiculous, if not accompanied by the genteeler accomplishments. Plainness, simplicity, and Quakerism, either in dress or manners, will by no means do: they must both be laced and embroidered: speaking or writing sense, without elegance and turn, will be very little persuasive; and the best figure in the world, without air and address, will be very ineffectual. Some pedants may have told you, that sound sense and learning stand in need of no ornaments; and, to support that assertion, elegantly quote the vulgar proverb, that *good wine needs no bush*; but surely the little experience you have already had of the world, must have convinced you that the contrary of that assertion is true. All those accomplishments are now in your power; think of them, and of them only. I hope you frequent La Foire St. Laurent,* which I see is

* The *Foire St. Laurent*, which derived its name from a neighbouring church, was held every summer at Paris. Plays were acted there in the French language, but on the Italian model, with *Astlequin*, *Pierrot*, &c., for their principal characters. It was to this theatre that the author of *Gil Blas* contributed a great number of pieces, which, though little known, are by no means destitute of merit. One of them, *la*

now open: you will improve more by going there with your mistress, than by staying at home and reading Euclid with your geometry master. Adieu. *Divertissez-vous, il n'y a rien de tel.*

Greenwich, July 15, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

As this is the last, or the last letter but one, that I think I shall write before I have the pleasure of seeing you here, it may not be amiss to prepare you a little for our interview, and for the time we shall pass together. Before Kings and Princes meet, Ministers on each side adjust the important points of precedence, arm-chairs,* right hand and left, &c. so that they know previously what they are to expect, what they have to trust to: and it is right they should; for they commonly envy or hate, but most certainly distrust each other. We shall meet upon very different terms; we want no such preliminaries: you know my tenderness, I know your affection. My only object, therefore, is to make your short stay with me as useful as I can to you; and yours, I hope, is to co-operate

Boîte de Pandore, which appeared in 1727, (*Œuvres de Le Sage*, vol. xiv. p. 411, ed. 1810,) has been in the present century translated and adapted to the German stage by Kotzebue without acknowledgment.

* These questions of arm-chairs in visits of ceremony were at this period frequently and warmly debated, especially in the Germanic empire. The *Memoirs of the Margravine of Baireuth* give an account of several such, as, for instance, at Frankfort in 1741: "Comme il n'y avoit point d'exemple qu'une fille de Roi et une Impératrice se fussent trouvées ensemble, je ne savois point les prétentions que je devois exercer." She held a conference with two Prussian ministers of state on this most important subject. "Ils furent d'avis l'un et l'autre que je ne pouvois prétendre le fauteuil, mais que cependant ils insisteroient pour me le faire obtenir!"—*Mem.*, vol. ii. p. 344.

with me. Whether, by making it wholesome, I shall make it pleasant to you, I am not sure. Emetics and cathartics I shall not administer, because I am sure you do not want them; but for alteratives you must expect a great many; and I can tell you, that I have a number of *nostrums*, which I shall communicate to nobody but yourself. To speak without a metaphor, I shall endeavour to assist your youth with all the experience that I have purchased, at the price of seven-and-fifty years. In order to this, frequent reproofs, corrections, and admonitions will be necessary; but then, I promise you, that they shall be in a gentle, friendly, and secret manner; they shall not put you out of countenance in company, nor out of humour when we are alone. I do not expect, that, at nineteen, you should have that knowledge of the world, those manners, that dexterity, which few people have at nine-and-twenty. But I will endeavour to give them you; and I am sure you will endeavour to learn them, as far as your youth, my experience, and the time we shall pass together will allow. You may have many inaccuracies (and to be sure you have, for who has not at your age), which few people will tell you of, and some nobody can tell you of but myself. You may possibly have others too, which eyes less interested, and less vigilant than mine, do not discover: all those you shall hear of, from one whose tenderness for you will excite his curiosity, and sharpen his penetration. The smallest inattention, or error in manners, the minutest inelegancy of diction, the least awkwardness in your dress and carriage, will not escape my observation, nor pass without amicable correction. Two the most intimate friends in the

world can freely tell each other their faults, and even their crimes; but cannot possibly tell each other of certain little weaknesses, awkwardnesses, and blindnesses of self-love; to authorize that unreserved freedom, the relation between us is absolutely necessary. For example, I had a very worthy friend, with whom I was intimate enough to tell him his faults; he had but few; I told him of them, he took it kindly of me, and corrected them. But then, he had some weaknesses that I could never tell him of directly, and which he was so little sensible of himself, that hints of them were lost upon him. He had a scrag neck, of about a yard long; notwithstanding which, bags being in fashion, truly he would wear one to his wig, and did so; but never behind him, for, upon every motion of his head, his bag came forwards over one shoulder or the other. He took it into his head too, that he must, occasionally, dance minuets, because other people did; and he did so, not only extremely ill, but so awkward, so disjointed, so slim, so meagre, was his figure, that, had he danced as well as ever Marcel did, it would have been ridiculous in him to have danced at all. I hinted these things to him as plainly as friendship would allow, and to no purpose; but to have told him the whole, so as to cure him, I must have been his father, which, thank God, I am not. As fathers commonly go, it is seldom a misfortune to be fatherless; and, considering the general run of sons, as seldom a misfortune to be childless. You and I form, I believe, an exception to that rule; for, I am persuaded, that we would neither of us change our relation, were it in our power. You will, I both hope and believe, be not only the comfort, but

the pride of my age; and, I am sure, I will be the support, the friend, the guide of your youth. Trust me without reserve; I will advise you without private interest, or secret envy. Mr. Harte will do so too; but still there may be some little things proper for you to know, and necessary for you to correct, which even his friendship would not let him tell you of so freely as I should; and some of which he may possibly not be so good a judge of as I am, not having lived so much in the great world.

One principal topic of our conversation will be, not only the purity, but the elegance of the English language, in both which you are very deficient. Another will be the constitution of this country, which I believe you know less of than of most other countries in Europe. Manners, attentions, and address will also be the frequent subjects of our lectures; and whatever I know of that important and necessary art, the art of pleasing, I will unreservedly communicate to you. Dress too (which, as things are, I can logically prove requires some attention) will not always escape our notice. Thus, my lectures will be more various, and in some respects more useful, than Professor Mascow's; and therefore, I can tell you, that I expect to be paid for them: but, as possibly you would not care to part with your ready money, and as I do not think that it would be quite handsome in me to accept it, I will compound for the payment, and take it in attention and practice.

Pray remember to part with all your friends, acquaintances, and mistresses, (if you have any) at Paris, in such a manner as may make them not only willing, but impatient to see you there again. Assure

them of your desire of returning to them; and do it in a manner that they may think you in earnest, that is, *avec onction et une espèce d'attendrissement*. All people say pretty nearly the same things upon those occasions; it is the manner only that makes the difference, and that difference is great. Avoid, however, as much as you can charging yourself with commissions in your return from hence to Paris; I know by experience that they are exceedingly troublesome, commonly expensive, and very seldom satisfactory at last to the persons who give them: some you cannot refuse, to people to whom you are obliged, and would oblige in your turn; but as to common fiddle-faddle commissions, you may excuse yourself from them with truth, by saying that you are to return to Paris through Flanders, and see all those great towns; which I intend you shall do, and stay a week or ten days at Brussels. Adieu! A good journey to you, if this is my last; if not, I can repeat again what I shall wish constantly.*

London, December 19, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You are now entered upon a scene of business, where I hope you will one day make a figure. Use does a great deal, but care and attention must be joined to it. The first thing necessary in writing

* Soon after the date of this letter, Mr. Stanhope rejoined his father in England, and remained with him until the 15th of November, on which day he set out on his return to Paris, having been appointed an *attaché* to Lord Albemarle's embassy. Lord Chesterfield's first impressions on seeing him, as to his manners and graces (or rather as to the want of them) are described in a letter to Madame de Mouchesnil of October 7, 1751.—Miscellaneous Correspondence.

letters of business is extreme clearness and perspicuity ; every paragraph should be so clear and unambiguous, that the dullest fellow in the world may not be able to mistake it, nor obliged to read it twice in order to understand it. This necessary clearness implies a correctness, without excluding an elegance of style. Tropes, figures, antitheses, epigrams, &c., would be as misplaced and as impertinent in letters of business, as they are sometimes (if judiciously used) proper and pleasing in familiar letters, upon common and trite subjects. In business, an elegant simplicity, the result of care, not of labour, is required. Business must be well, not affectedly, dressed, but by no means negligently. Let your first attention be to clearness, and read every paragraph after you have written it, in the critical view of discovering whether it is possible that any one man can mistake the true sense of it ; and correct it accordingly. -

Our pronouns and relatives often create obscurity or ambiguity ; be therefore exceedingly attentive to them, and take care to mark out with precision their particular relations. For example : Mr. Johnson acquainted me that he had seen Mr. Smith, who had promised him to speak to Mr. Clarke, to return him (Mr. Johnson) those papers which he (Mr. Smith) had left some time ago with him (Mr. Clarke) : it is better to repeat a name, though unnecessarily, ten times, than to have the person mistaken once. *Who*, you know, is singly relative to persons, and cannot be applied to things ; *which* and *that* are chiefly relative to things, but not absolutely exclusive of persons ; for one may say, the man *that* robbed or killed such-a-one : but it is much better to say, the man *who* robbed

or killed. One never says, the man or the woman *which*. *Which* and *that*, though chiefly relative to things, cannot be always used indifferently as to things; and the *rapports* must sometimes determine their place. For instance: The letter *which* I received from you, *which* you referred to in your last, *which* came by Lord Albemarle's messenger, and *which* I showed to such-a-one; I would change it thus: The letter *that* I received from you, *which* you referred to in your last, *that* came by Lord Albemarle's messenger, and *which* I showed to such-a-one.

Business does not exclude (as possibly you wish it did) the usual terms of politeness and good-breeding, but, on the contrary, strictly requires them: such as, *I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship; Permit me to assure you; If I may be allowed to give my opinion, &c.* For the Minister abroad who writes to the Minister at home, writes to his superior; possibly to his patron, or at least to one who he desires should be so.

Letters of business will not only admit of, but be the better for *certain graces*: but then, they must be scattered with a sparing and a skilful hand; they must fit their place exactly. They must decently adorn without encumbering, and modestly shine without glaring. But as this is the utmost degree of perfection in letters of business, I would not advise you to attempt those embellishments till you have first laid your foundation well.

Cardinal d'Ossat's letters are the true letters of business; those of Monsieur D'Avaux are excellent; Sir William Temple's are very pleasing, but I fear too affected. Carefully avoid all Greek or Latin quotations; and bring no precedents from the *virtuous*

Spartans, the polite Athenians, and the brave Romans. Leave all that to futile pedants. No flourishes, no declamation. But (I repeat it again) there is an elegant simplicity and dignity of style absolutely necessary for good letters of business: attend to that carefully. Let your periods be harmonious, without seeming to be laboured; and let them not be too long, for that always occasions a degree of obscurity. I should not mention correct orthography, but that you very often fail in that particular, which will bring ridicule upon you; for no man is allowed to spell ill. I wish too that your handwriting were much better, and I cannot conceive why it is not, since every man may certainly write whatever hand he pleases. Neatness in folding up, sealing, and directing your packets, is by no means to be neglected; though I dare say you think it is. But there is something in the exterior, even of a packet, that may please or displease; and consequently worth some attention.

You say that your time is very well employed, and so it is, though as yet only in the outlines, and first routine of business. They are previously necessary to be known; they smooth the way for parts and dexterity. Business requires no conjuration nor supernatural talents, as people unacquainted with it are apt to think. Method, diligence, and discretion, will carry a man of good strong common sense much higher than the finest parts, without them, can do. *Par negotiis, neque supra*, is the true character of a man of business: but then it implies ready attention, and no *absences*; and a flexibility and versatility of attention from one object to another, without being engrossed by any one.

Be upon your guard against the pedantry and affectation of business, which young people are apt to fall into, from the pride of being concerned in it young. They look thoughtful, complain of the weight of business, throw out mysterious hints, and seem big with secrets which they do not know. Do you on the contrary never talk of business but to those with whom you are to transact it; and learn to seem *vacuus* and idle when you have the most business. Of all things, the *volto sciolto* and the *pensieri stretti* are necessary. Adieu!

London, December 30, O. S. 1751.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE Parliaments are the courts of justice of France, and are what our courts of justice in Westminster-Hall are here. They used anciently to follow the Court, and administer justice in the presence of the King. Philip le Bel first fixed it at Paris by an edict of 1302. It consisted then of but one *chambre*, which was called *La Chambre des Prélats*, most of the members being ecclesiastics; but the multiplicity of business made it by degrees necessary to create several other *chambres*: it consists now of seven *chambres*.

La Grand-Chambre, which is the highest court of justice, and to which appeals lie from the others.

Les cinq Chambres des Enquêtes, which are like our Common Pleas and Court of Exchequer.

La Tournelle, which is the court for criminal justice, and answers to our Old Bailey and King's Bench.

There are in all twelve Parliaments in France.

1. Paris.
2. Toulouse.
3. Grenoble.
4. Bourdeaux.
5. Dijon.
6. Rouen.
7. Aix en Provence.
8. Rennes en Bretagne.
9. Pau en Navarre.
10. Metz.
11. Dole en Franche Comté.
12. Douay.

There are three *Conseils Souverains*, which may almost be called Parliaments; they are those of

Perpignan.

Arras.

Alsace. .

For further particulars of the French Parliaments, read *Bernard de la Rochefavin des Parlemens de France*, and other authors, who have treated that subject constitutionally. But what will be still better, converse upon it with people of sense and knowledge, who will inform you of the particular objects of the several *Chambres*, and the businesses of the respective members, as, *les Présidens*, *les Présidens à Mortier* (these last so called from their black velvet caps laced with gold), *les Maitres des Requêtes*, *les Greffiers*, *le Procureur Général*, *les Avocats Généraux*, *les Conseillers*, &c. The great point in dispute is, concerning the powers of the Parliament of Paris, in matters of state, and

relatively to the Crown. They pretend to the powers of the States General of France, when they used to be assembled (which, I think, they have not been since the reign of Louis XIII., in the year 1615). The Crown denies those pretensions, and considers them only as courts of justice. Mezeray seems to be on the side of the Parliament in this question, which is very well worth your inquiry. But, be that as it will, the Parliament of Paris is certainly a very respectable body, and much regarded by the whole kingdom. The edicts of the Crown, especially those for levying money on the subjects, ought to be registered in Parliament; I do not say to have their effect, for the Crown would take good care of that; but to have a decent appearance, and to procure a willing acquiescence in the nation. And the Crown itself, absolute as it is, does not love that strong opposition, and those admirable remonstrances, which it sometimes meets with from the Parliaments. Many of those detached pieces are very well worth your collecting; and I remember, a year or two ago, a remonstrance of the Parliament of Douay, upon the subject, as I think, of the *vingtième*, which was, in my mind, one of the finest and most moving compositions I ever read. They owned themselves, indeed, to be slaves, and showed their chains; but humbly begged of his Majesty to make them a little lighter and less galling.

The *States of France* were general assemblies of the three states or orders of the kingdom: the clergy, the nobility, and the *Tiers Etat*, that is, the people. They used to be called together by the King, upon the most important affairs of state, like our Lords and Commons in Parliament, and our clergy in Convocation.

Our Parliament is our states, and the French Parliaments are only their courts of justice. The nobility consisted of all those of noble extraction, whether belonging to the *sword*, or to the *robe*; excepting such as were chosen (which sometimes happened) by the *tiers état*, as their deputies to the States General.* The *tiers état* was exactly our House of Commons, that is, the people, represented by deputies of their own choosing. Those who had the most considerable places, *dans la robe*, assisted at those assemblies, as commissioners on the part of the Crown. The States met, for the first time that I can find (I mean by the name of *les Etats*), in the reign of Pharamond, 424, when they confirmed the Salic law. From that time they have been very frequently assembled, sometimes upon important occasions, as making war and peace, reforming abuses, &c.; at other times, upon seemingly trifling ones, as coronations, marriages, &c. Francis I. assembled them, in 1526, to declare null and void his famous treaty of Madrid, signed and sworn to by him, during his captivity there. They grew troublesome to the Kings and to their Ministers, and were but seldom called, after the power of the Crown grew strong; and they have never been heard of since the year 1615. Richelieu came and shackled the nation, and Mazarin and Louis XIV. riveted the shackles.

There still subsist in some provinces in France, which are called *pays d'états*, an humble local imitation, or rather mimicry, of the great *états*, as in *Lan-*

* As was afterwards the case with Mirabeau: "Il aspirait à être un des représentants du Tiers Etat par un pressentiment qu'il y jouerait un plus grand rôle, et que sa noblesse même ajouterait un nouveau mérite à ses principes populaires."—Dumont, Souvenirs sur Mirabeau, ch. i.

guedoc, Bretagne, &c. They meet, they speak, they grumble, and finally submit to whatever the King orders.

Independently of the intrinsic utility of this kind of knowledge to every man of business, it is a shame for any man to be ignorant of it, especially relatively to any country he has been long in. Adieu.

London, January 2, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

LAZINESS of mind, or inattention, are as great enemies to knowledge, as incapacity; for, in truth, what difference is there between a man who will not, and a man who cannot, be informed? This difference only, that the former is justly to be blamed, the latter to be pitied. And yet how many are there, very capable of receiving knowledge, who from laziness, inattention, and incuriousness, will not so much as ask for it, much less take the least pains to acquire it.

Our young English travellers generally distinguish themselves by a voluntary privation of all that useful knowledge for which they are sent abroad; and yet at that age, the most useful knowledge is the most easy to be acquired; conversation being the book, and the best book, in which it is contained. The drudgery of dry grammatical learning is over, and the fruits of it are mixed with, and adorned by, the flowers of conversation. How many of our young men have been a year at Rome, and as long at Paris, without knowing the meaning and institution of the Conclave in the former, and of the Parliament in the latter? and this merely for want of asking the first people they met

with in those several places, who could at least have given them some general notions of those matters.

You will, I hope, be wiser, and omit no opportunity (for opportunities present themselves every hour in the day) of acquainting yourself with all those political and constitutional particulars of the kingdom and government of France: for instance, when you hear people mention *le Chancelier*, or *le Garde des Sceaux*, is it any great trouble for you to ask, or for others to tell you, what is the nature, the powers, the objects, and the profits of those two employments, either when joined together, as they often are, or when separate, as they are at present? When you hear of a *Gouverneur*, a *Lieutenant du Roi*, a *Commandant*, and an *Intendant* of the same province, is it not natural, is it not becoming, is it not necessary, for a stranger to inquire into their respective rights and privileges? And yet I dare say there are very few Englishmen who know the difference between the civil department of the *Intendant* and the military powers of the others. When you hear (as I am persuaded you must) every day of the *Vingtième*, which is one in twenty, and consequently five *per cent.*, inquire upon what that tax is laid—whether upon lands, money, merchandise, or upon all three; how levied, and what it is supposed to produce. When you find in books (as you will sometimes) allusion to particular laws and customs, do not rest till you have traced them up to their *source*. To give you two examples: you will meet in some French comedies, *Cri* or *Clameur de Haro*; ask what it means, and you will be told that it is a term of the law in Normandy, and means citing, arresting, or obliging any person to appear in the

courts of justice, either upon a civil or a criminal account; and that it is derived from *à Raoul*, which Raoul was anciently Duke of Normandy, and a Prince eminent for his justice—inso much, that when any injustice was committed, the cry immediately was *venez à Raoul, à Raoul*; which words are now corrupted and jumbled into *haro*. Another, *Le vol du Chapon*—that is, a certain district of ground immediately contiguous to the mansion seat of a family, and answers to what we call in English *demesnes*. It is in France computed at about 1,600 feet round the house, that being supposed to be the extent of the capon's flight from *la basse cour*. This little district must go along with the mansion seat, however the rest of the estate may be divided.

I do not mean that you should be a French lawyer, but I would not have you be unacquainted with the general principles of their law in matters that occur every day. Such is the nature of their descents—that is, the inheritance of lands. Do they all go to the eldest son, or are they equally divided among the children of the deceased? In England, all lands unsettled descend to the eldest son, as heir at law, unless otherwise disposed of by the father's will: except in the county of Kent, where a particular custom prevails, called Gavel-kind, by which, if the father dies intestate, all his children divide his lands equally among them.* In Germany, as you know, all lands that are not fiefs are equally divided among all the children, which ruins those families; but all male fiefs of

* See Blackstone's Commentaries, book II. ch. 6. According to Selden's opinion, Gavel-kind before the Norman conquest was the general custom of the realm.

the empire descend unalienably to the next male heir, which preserves those families. In France, I believe, descents vary in different provinces.

The nature of marriage contracts deserves inquiry. In England, the general practice is, the husband takes all the wife's fortune, and, in consideration of it, settles upon her a proper pin-money, as it is called, that is, an annuity during his life, and a jointure after his death. In France it is not so, particularly at Paris, where *la communauté des biens* is established. Any married woman at Paris (*if you are acquainted with one*) can inform you of all these particulars.

These, and other things of the same nature, are the useful and rational objects of the curiosity of a man of sense and business. Could they only be attained by laborious researches in folio books, and worm-eaten manuscripts, I should not wonder at a young fellow's being ignorant of them; but as they are the frequent topics of conversation, and to be known by a very little degree of curiosity, inquiry, and attention, it is unpardonable not to know them.

Thus I have given you some hints only for your inquiries; *l'Etat de la France*, *L'Almanach Royal*, and twenty other such superficial books, will furnish you with a thousand more. *Approfondissez.*

How often, and how justly, have I since regretted negligences of this kind in my youth! and how often have I since been at great trouble to learn many things, which I could then have learned without any! Save yourself now, then, I beg of you, that regret and trouble hereafter. Ask questions, and many questions, and leave nothing till you are thoroughly informed of it. Such pertinent questions are far from

being ill-bred, or troublesome to those of whom you ask them; on the contrary, they are a tacit compliment to their knowledge; and people have a better opinion of a young man when they see him desirous to be informed.

I have, by last post, received your two letters of the 1st and 5th January, N. S. I am very glad that you have been at all the shows at Versailles; frequent the Courts. I can conceive the murmurs of the French at the poorness of the fireworks, by which they thought their King or their country degraded; and, in truth, were things always as they should be, when Kings give shows, they ought to be magnificent.

I thank you for the *Thèse de la Sorbonne*, which you intend to send me, and which I am impatient to receive; but pray read it carefully yourself first, and inform yourself what the Sorbonne is, by whom founded, and for what purposes.

Since you have time, you have done very well, to take an Italian and a German master; but pray take care to leave yourself time enough for company; for it is in company only that you can learn what will be much more useful to you than either Italian or German; I mean *la politesse, les manières, et les graces*, without which, as I told you long ago, and I told you true, *ogni fatica è vana*. Adieu.

Pray make my compliments to Lady Brown.

London, January 6, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECOMMENDED to you, in my last, some inquiries into the constitution of that famous society, the *Sorbonne*; but as I cannot wholly trust to the diligence

of those inquiries, I will give you here the outlines of that establishment; which may possibly excite you to inform yourself of particulars, that you are more *à portée* to know than I am.

It was founded by Robert *de Sorbon*, in the year 1256, for sixteen poor scholars in divinity; four of each nation, of the university of which it made a part; since that it hath been much extended and enriched, especially by the liberality and pride of Cardinal Richelieu; who made it a magnificent building, for six-and-thirty Doctors of that society to live in; besides which, there are six Professors and schools for divinity. This society hath been long famous for theological knowledge, and exertations. There unintelligible points are debated with passion, though they can never be determined by reason. Logical subtleties set common sense at defiance; and mystical refinements disfigure and disguise the native beauty and simplicity of true natural religion; wild imaginations form systems, which weak minds adopt implicitly, and which sense and reason oppose in vain; their voice is not strong enough to be heard in schools of divinity. Political views are by no means neglected in those sacred places; and questions are agitated and decided, according to the degree of regard, or rather submission, which the Sovereign is pleased to show the Church. Is the King a slave to the Church, though a tyrant to the laity? the least resistance to his will shall be declared damnable. But if he will not acknowledge the superiority of their spiritual, over his temporal, nor even admit their *imperium in imperio*, which is the least they will compound for, it becomes meritorious, not only to resist, but to depose

him. And I suppose, that the bold propositions in the Thesis you mention, are a return for the valuation of *les biens du Clergé*.

I would advise you, by all means, to attend two or three of their public disputations, in order to be informed both of the manner and the substance of those scholastic exercises. Pray remember to go to all such kind of things. Do not put it off, as one is too apt to do things which one knows can be done every day, or any day; for one afterwards repents extremely, when too late, the not having done them.

But there is another (so called) religious Society, of which the minutest circumstance deserves attention, and furnishes great matter for useful reflections. You easily guess that I mean the society of *les R. R. P. P.* Jesuites*, established but in the year 1540, by a Bull of Pope Paul III. Its progress, and I may say its victories, were more rapid than those of the Romans; for within the same century it governed all Europe; and in the next it extended its influence over the whole world. Its founder was an abandoned profligate Spanish officer, Ignatius Loyola; who, in the year 1521, being wounded in the leg at the siege of Pampelona, went mad from the smart of his wound, the reproaches of his conscience, and his confinement, during which he read the Lives of the Saints. Consciousness of guilt, a fiery temper, and a wild imagination, the common ingredients of enthusiasm, made this madman devote himself to the particular service of the Virgin Mary; whose knight-errant he declared himself, in the very same form in which the old knights-errant in romances used to declare themselves the knights

* *Les Révérends Pères.*

and champions of certain beautiful and incomparable princesses, whom sometimes they had, but oftener had not, seen. For Dulcinea del Toboso was by no means the first Princess, whom her faithful and valorous knight had never seen in his life. The enthusiast went to the Holy Land, from whence he returned to Spain, where he began to learn Latin and philosophy at three-and-thirty years old, so that no doubt but he made a great progress in both. The better to carry on his mad and wicked designs, he chose four disciples, or rather apostles, all Spaniards, viz. Laynés, Salmeron, Bobadilla, and Rodriguez. He then composed the rules and constitutions of his Order; which, in the year 1547, was called the Order of Jesuits, from the church of Jesus in Rome, which was given them. Ignatius died in 1556, aged sixty-five, thirty-five years after his conversion, and sixteen years after the establishment of his society. He was canonized in the year 1609, and is doubtless now a saint in heaven.

If the religious and moral principles of this Society are to be detested, as they justly are, the wisdom of their political principles is as justly to be admired. Suspected, collectively as an Order, of the greatest crimes, and convicted of many, they have either escaped punishment, or triumphed after it; as in France, in the reign of Henry IV. They have, directly or indirectly, governed the consciences and the councils of all the Catholic princes in Europe: they almost governed China, in the reign of Cangghi; and they are now actually in possession of the Paraguay in America, pretending but paying no obedience to the Crown of Spain. As a collective body, they are detested even by all the Catholics, not except-

ing the clergy, both secular and regular; and yet, as individuals, they are loved, respected, and they govern wherever they are.

Two things, I believe, chiefly contribute to their success. The first, that passive, implicit, unlimited, obedience to their General (who always resides at Rome) and to the Superiors of their several houses, appointed by him. This obedience is observed by them all, to a most astonishing degree; and I believe there is no one society in the world of which so many individuals sacrifice their private interest to the general one of the society itself. The second is, the education of youth, which they have in a manner engrossed; there they give the first, and the first are the lasting, impressions: those impressions are always calculated to be favourable to the Society. I have known many Catholics, educated by the Jesuits, who, though they detested the Society, from reason and knowledge, have always remained attached to it, from habit and prejudice. The Jesuits know, better than any set of people in the world, the importance of the art of pleasing, and study it more: they become all things to all men, in order to gain, not a few, but many. In Asia, Africa, and America they become more than half Pagans, in order to convert the Pagans to be less than half Christians. In private families they begin by insinuating themselves as friends, they grow to be favourites, and they end *directors*. Their manners are not like those of any other Regulars in the world, but gentle, polite, and engaging. They are all carefully bred up to that particular destination to which they seem to have a natural turn; for which reason one sees most Jesuits excel in some particular thing. They

even breed up some for martyrdom, in case of need, as the superior of a Jesuit seminary at Rome told Lord Bolingbroke: *Ed abbiamo anche martiri per il martirio, se bisogna.*

Inform yourself minutely of everything concerning this extraordinary establishment: go into their houses, get acquainted with individuals, hear some of them preach. The finest preacher I ever heard in my life is le Père Neufville,* who, I believe, preaches still at Paris, and is so much in the best company, that you may easily get personally acquainted with him.

If you would know their *morale*, read Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*, in which it is very truly displayed from their own writings.

Upon the whole, this is certain, that a Society of which so little good is said, and so much ill believed, and that still not only subsists, but flourishes, must be a very able one. It is always mentioned as a proof of the superior abilities of the Cardinal Richelieu, that, though hated by all the nation, and still more by his master, he kept his power in spite of both.

I would earnestly wish you to do every thing now, which I wish that I had done at your age, and did not do. Every country has its peculiarities, which one can be much better informed of during one's residence there, than by reading all the books in the world afterwards. While you are in Catholic countries, inform yourself of all the forms and ceremonies of that tawdry church: see their convents both of men and women,

* Père Neufville, or more correctly Neuville, was born at Coutances in 1693, and died at St. Germain in 1774. His collected Sermons, *Oraisons Funèbres*, &c. were published two years afterwards, and their eloquence has called forth a high panegyric from La Harpe.

know their several rules and orders, attend their most remarkable ceremonies; have their terms of art explained to you, their *tierce, sexte, nones, matines, vêpres, complies*; their *breviaires, rosaires, heures, chapelets, agnus, &c.*, things that many people talk of from habit, though few know the true meaning of any one of them. Converse with and study the characters of some of those incarcerated enthusiasts. Frequent some *parloirs*, and see the air and manners of those recluse, who are a distinct nation themselves, and like no other.

I dined yesterday with Mrs. Fitzgerald, her mother, and husband. He is an athletic Hibernian, handsome in his person, but excessively awkward and vulgar in his air and manner. She inquired much after you, and I thought with interest. I answered her as a *Mezzano* should do. *Et je pronai votre tendresse, vos soins, et vos soupirs.*

When you meet with any British returning to their own country, pray send me by them any little *brochûres, factums, thèses, &c. qui font du bruit ou du plaisir à Paris.* Adieu, child.

London, January 23, O. S. 1732.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

HAVE you seen the new tragedy of *Varon*,* and what do you think of it? Let me know, for I am determined to form my taste upon yours. I hear that the situations and incidents are well brought on, and the catastrophe unexpected and surprising, but the verses bad. I suppose it is the subject of all the conversations at Paris, where both women and men are

* In the *Dictionnaire des Anonymes* par Barbier the tragedy of *Varon* is said to have been written by the *Vicomte de Grève*.

judges and critics of all such performances: such conversations, that both form and improve the taste and whet the judgment, are surely preferable to the conversations of our mixed companies here; which, if they happen to rise above bragg and whist, infallibly stop short of everything either pleasing or instructive. I take the reason of this to be, that (as women generally give the tone to the conversation) our English women are not near so well informed and cultivated as the French; besides that they are naturally more serious and silent.

I could wish there were a treaty made between the French and the English theatres, in which both parties should make considerable concessions. The English ought to give up their notorious violations of all the unities: and all their massacres, racks, dead bodies, and mangled carcases, which they so frequently exhibit upon their stage. The French should engage to have more action and less declamation; and not to cram and crowd things together to almost a degree of impossibility, from a too scrupulous adherence to the unities. The English should restrain the licentiousness of their poets, and the French enlarge the liberty of theirs: their poets are the greatest slaves in their country, and that is a bold word; ours are the most tumultuous subjects in England, and that is saying a good deal. Under such regulations one might hope to see a play in which one should not be lulled to sleep by the length of a monotonical declamation, nor frightened and shocked by the barbarity of the action. The unity of time extended occasionally to three or four days, and the unity of place broke into, as far as the same street, or sometimes the same town; both

which, I will affirm, are as probable as four-and-twenty hours and the same room.

More indulgence too, in my mind, should be shown, than the French are willing to allow, to bright thoughts and to shining images; for though, I confess, it is not very natural for a Hero or a Princess to say fine things in all the violence of grief, love, rage, &c., yet I can as well suppose that, as I can that they should talk to themselves for half-an-hour; which they must necessarily do or no tragedy could be carried on, unless they had recourse to a much greater absurdity, the chorusses of the ancients. Tragedy is of a nature, that one must see it with a degree of self-deception; we must lend ourselves a little to the delusion; and I am very willing to carry that complaisance a little farther than the French do.

Tragedy must be something bigger than life, or it would not affect us. In nature, the most violent passions are silent; in Tragedy they must speak, and speak with dignity too. Hence the necessity of their being written in verse, and, unfortunately for the French, from the weakness of their language, in rhymes. And for the same reason, Cato, the Stoic, expiring at Utica, rhymes masculine and feminine at Paris; and fetches his last breath at London in most harmonious and correct blank verse.

It is quite otherwise with Comedy, which should be mere common life, and not one jot bigger. Every character should speak upon the stage, not only what it would utter in the situation there represented, but in the same manner in which it would express it. For which reason I cannot allow rhymes in Comedy, unless they were put into the mouth and came out of the

mouth of a mad poet. But it is impossible to deceive one's self enough (nor is it the least necessary in Comedy) to suppose a dull rogue of a usurer cheating, or *gros Jean* blundering in the finest rhymes in the world.

As for Operas, they are essentially too absurd and extravagant to mention : I look upon them as a magic scene, contrived to please the eyes and the ears at the expence of the understanding ; and I consider singing, rhyming and chiming Heroes, and Princesses and Philosophers, as I do the hills, the trees, the birds and the beasts, who amicably joined in one common country dance to the irresistible tune of Orpheus's lyre. Whenever I go to an Opera, I leave my sense and reason at the door with my half-guinea, and deliver myself up to my eyes and my ears.

Thus I have made you my poetical confession ; in which I have acknowledged as many sins against the established taste in both countries, as a frank heretic could have owned against the established Church in either ; but I am now privileged by my age to taste and think for myself, and not to care what other people think of me in those respects ; an advantage which youth, among its many advantages, has not. It must occasionally and outwardly conform, to a certain degree, to established tastes, fashions, and decisions. A young man may, with a becoming modesty, dissent, in private companies, from public opinions and prejudices ; but he must not attack them with warmth, nor magisterially set up his own sentiments against them. Endeavour to hear and know all opinions ; receive them with complaisance ; form your own with coolness, and give in with modesty.

I have received a letter from Sir John Lambert, in
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which he requests me to use my interest to procure him the remittance of Mr. Spencer's* money, when he goes abroad; and also desires to know to whose account he is to place the postage of my letters. I do not trouble him with a letter in answer, since you can execute the commission. Pray make my compliments to him, and assure him, that I will do all I can to procure him Mr. Spencer's business; but that his most effectual way will be by Messrs. Hoare, who are Mr. Spencer's cashiers, and who will undoubtedly have their choice whom they will give him his credit upon. As for the postage of the letters, your purse and mine being pretty near the same, do you pay it, over and above your next draught.

Your relations, the Princes B(orghese,)† will soon be with you at Paris; for they leave London this week: whenever you converse with them, I desire it may be in Italian; that language not being yet familiar enough to you.

By our printed papers, there seems to be a sort of compromise between the King and the Parliament, with regard to the affairs of the hospitals, by taking them out of the hands of the Archbishop of Paris,‡ and placing them in Monsieur d'Argenson's:§ if this

* This gentleman was the only son of the Honourable John Spencer, whom Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, had chosen for her heir, but who died soon after her Grace, in 1746. His son after returning from his travels was elected M. P. for Warwick; in 1761 he was created Viscount Spencer, and, in 1765, was promoted to an Earldom. He was grandfather of the present Earl.

† See note to the letter of June 20, 1751.

‡ Christophe de Beaumont, raised to that dignity in 1746, and famous in after-years for his opposition to the Court and his controversy with Rousseau.

§ Marc Pierre de Voyer, Comte d'Argenson, born in 1696, was at

be true, that compromise, as it is called, is clearly a victory on the side of the Court, and a defeat on the part of the Parliament; for if the Parliament had a right, they had it as much to the exclusion of Monsieur d'Argenson as of the Archbishop. Adieu.

London, February 6, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR criticism of *Varon* is strictly just; but, in truth, severe. You French critics seek for a fault as eagerly as I do for a beauty: you consider things in the worst light, to show your skill, at the expense of your pleasure; I view them in the best, that I may have more pleasure, though at the expense of my judgment. *A trompeur trompeur et demi* is prettily said; and if you please, you may call *Varon*, *un Normand*, and *Sostrate*, *un Mangeau*, *qui vaut un Normand et demi*; and, considering the *dénouement*, in the light of trick upon trick, it would undoubtedly be below the dignity of the buskin, and fitter for the sock.

But let us see if we cannot bring off the author. The great question, upon which all turns, is to discover and ascertain who *Cleonice* really is. There are doubts concerning her *état*; how shall they be cleared? Had the truth been extorted from *Varon* (who alone knew), by the rack, it would have been a true tragical *dénouement*. But that would probably not have done with *Varon*, who is represented as a

this period *Ministre de la Guerre*. It was he who, when the Abbé Desfontaines was apologising for his frequent publication of libels, and had added, *Il faut bien que je vive!*—drily replied *Je n'en vois pas la nécessité!*

bold, determined, wicked, and at that time, desperate fellow; for he was in the hands of an enemy, who he knew could not forgive him with common prudence or safety. The rack would therefore have extorted no truth from him; but he would have died enjoying the doubts of his enemies, and the confusion that must necessarily attend those doubts. A stratagem is therefore thought of, to discover what force and terror could not, and the stratagem such as no King or Minister would disdain, to get at an important discovery. If you call that stratagem *a trick*, you vilify it, and make it comical; but call that trick a *stratagem*, or a *measure*, and you dignify it up to tragedy: so frequently do ridicule or dignity turn upon one single word. It is commonly said, and more particularly by Lord Shaftesbury, that ridicule is the best test of truth; for that it will not stick where it is not just. I deny it. A truth learned in a certain light, and attacked in certain words, by men of wit and humour, may, and often does, become ridiculous, at least so far, that the truth is only remembered and repeated for the sake of the ridicule. The overturn of Mary of Medicis into a river, where she was half drowned, would never have been remembered, if Madame de Verneuil,* who saw it, had not said *la Reine boit*. Pleasure or malignity often gives ridicule a weight, which it does not deserve. The versification, I must confess, is too much neglected, and too often bad: but, upon the whole, I read the play with pleasure.

If there is but a great deal of wit and character in

* Catherine Henriette d'Entragues, Marquise de Verneuil, became the mistress of Henri IV. after the death of Gabrielle d'Estrées. She is frequently, but by no means favourably, mentioned in the *Mémoires de Sully*.

your new comedy, I will readily compound for its having little or no plot. I chiefly mind dialogue and character in comedies. Let dull critics feed upon the carcasses of plays; give me the taste and the dressing.

I am very glad you went to Versailles, to see the ceremony of creating the Prince de Condé,* *Chevalier de l'Ordre*; and I do not doubt but that, upon this occasion, you informed yourself thoroughly of the institution and rules of that Order. If you did, you were certainly told it was instituted by Henry III., immediately after his return, or rather his flight, from Poland; he took the hint of it at Venice; where he had seen the original manuscript of an Order of the *St. Esprit, ou droit désir*, which had been instituted in 1352, by Louis d'Anjou, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, and husband to Jane, Queen of Naples, Countess of Provence. This Order was under the protection of St. Nicholas de Bari, whose image hung to the collar. Henry III. found the Order of St. Michael prostituted and degraded, during the civil wars: he therefore joined it to his new Order of the St. Esprit, and gave them both together; for which reason every Knight of the St. Esprit is now called *Chevalier des Ordres du Roi*. The number of the Knights has been different, but is now fixed to *one hundred*, exclusive of the sovereign. There are many officers, who wear the ribbon of this Order, like the other Knights; and what is very singular is, that these officers frequently sell their employments, but obtain leave to wear the blue ribbon still, though the purchasers of those offices wear it also.

* Louis Joseph de Bourbon, grandfather of the ill-fated Duc d'Enghien: he was born in 1736, and died in 1818.

As you will have been a great while in France, people will expect that you should be *au fait* of all these sort of things relative to that country. But the history of all the Orders of all countries is well worth your knowledge; the subject occurs often, and one should not be ignorant of it, for fear of some such accident as happened to a solid Dane at Paris, who, upon seeing *l'Ordre du St. Esprit*, said, *Nôtre St. Esprit chez nous c'est un Eléphant*. Almost all the princes in Germany have their Orders too, not dated, indeed, from any important events, or directed to any great object; but because they will have Orders, to show that they may; as some of them, who have the *jus cudendæ monetæ*, borrow ten shillings worth of gold to coin a ducat. However, wherever you meet with them, inform yourself, and minute down a short account of them: they take in all the colours of Sir Isaac Newton's prisms. N. B. When you inquire about them, do not seem to laugh.

I thank you for *le Mandement de Monseigneur l'Archevêque*; it is very well drawn, and becoming an Archbishop. But pray do not lose sight of a much more important object, I mean the political disputes between the King and the Parliament, and the King and the Clergy; they seem both to be patching up; however, get the whole clue to them, as far as they have gone.

I received a letter yesterday from Madame Monconseil, who assures me you have gained ground *du côté des manières*, and that she looks upon you to be *plus qu'à moitié chemin*. I am very glad to hear this, because, if you are got above half way of your journey, surely you will finish it, and not faint in the course.

Why do you think I have this affair so extremely at heart, and why do I repeat it so often? Is it for your sake, or for mine? You can immediately answer yourself that question; you certainly have, I cannot possibly have, any interest in it: if then you will allow me, as I believe you may, to be a judge of what is useful and necessary to you, you must, in consequence, be convinced of the infinite importance of a point which I take so much pains to inculcate.

I hear that the new Duke of Orléans* *a remercié Monsicur de Melfort*, and, I believe, *pas sans raison*, having had obligations to him; *mais il ne l'a pas remercié en mari poli*, but rather roughly. *Il faut que ce soit un bourru*. I am told, too, that people get bits of his father's rags, by way of relics:† I wish them joy; they will do them a great deal of good. See from hence what weaknesses human nature is capable of, and make allowances for such in all your plans and reasonings. Study the characters of the people you have to do with, and know what they are, instead of thinking them what they should be; address yourself generally to the senses, to the heart, and to the weaknesses of mankind, but very rarely to their reason.

Good night, or good morrow to you, according to the time you shall receive this letter from Yours.

* Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, born in 1725, and died in 1785. He was grandfather of the present King of the French.

† Louis, Duc d'Orléans, born in 1703, was the son and successor of the Regent. His father's sudden death having struck his mind with religious awe, he passed the remainder of his days in the practices of austere devotion. During the last ten years of his life he had retired wholly to a cell in the *Abbaye de St. Geneviève*. He died February 4, 1752.

London, February 14, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN a month's time I believe I shall have the pleasure of sending you, and you will have the pleasure of reading, a work of Lord Bolingbroke's, in two volumes octavo, *upon the use of History*, in several Letters to Lord Hyde, then Lord Cornbury.* It is now put into the press. It is hard to determine whether this work will instruct or please most. The most material historical facts, from the great æra of the treaty of Munster, are touched upon, accompanied by the most solid reflections, and adorned by all that elegance of style which was peculiar to himself, and in which, if Cicero equals, he certainly does not exceed him, but every other writer falls short of him. I would advise you almost to get this book by heart. I think you have a turn to history, you love it, and have a memory to retain it: this book will teach you the proper use of it. Some people load their memories indiscriminately with historical facts, as others do their stomachs with food; and bring out the one, and bring up the other, entirely crude and undigested. You will find in Lord Bolingbroke's book an infallible specific against that epidemical complaint.

I remember a gentleman, who had read history in this thoughtless and undistinguishing manner, and who, having travelled, had gone through the Valte-

* The name of this nobleman, the last descendant in the male line of the great Lord Clarendon, is enshrined not only in the prose of Bolingbroke but in the verse of Pope:

"Disdain whatever Cornbury disdains!"

He died before his father in 1753, and at the death of that father, a few months afterwards, both the Earldom of Clarendon (1661) and that of Rochester (1682) which had centred in him became extinct.

line. He told me that it was a miserable poor country, and therefore it was surely a great error in Cardinal Richelieu to make such a rout, and put France to so much expense about it. Had my friend read history as he ought to have done, he would have known that the great object of that great minister was to reduce the power of the house of Austria; and, in order to that, to cut off as much as he could the communication between the several parts of their then extensive dominions; which reflections would have justified the Cardinal to him in the affair of the Valteline. But it was easier to him to remember facts than to combine and reflect.

One observation I hope you will make in reading history, for it is an obvious and a true one. It is: that more people have made great figures and great fortunes in Courts by their exterior accomplishments than by their interior qualifications. Their engaging address, the politeness of their manners, their air, their turn, has almost always paved the way for their superior abilities, if they have such, to exert themselves. They have been favourites before they have been ministers. In Courts, an universal gentleness and *douceur dans les manières* is most absolutely necessary: an offended fool, or a slighted *valet de chambre*, may very possibly do you more hurt at Court than ten men of merit can do you good. Fools and low people are always jealous of their dignity, and never forget nor forgive what they reckon a slight. On the other hand, they take civility and a little attention as a favour, remember and acknowledge it: this, in my mind, is buying them cheap, and therefore they are worth buying. The Prince himself, who is

rarely the shining genius of his Court, esteems you only by hearsay, but likes you by his senses, that is, from your air, your politeness, and your manner of addressing him, of which alone he is a judge. There is a Court garment, as well as a wedding garment, without which you will not be received. That garment is the *collo sciolto*, an imposing air, an elegant politeness, easy and engaging manners, universal attention, an insinuating gentleness, and all those *je ne sais quoi* that compose the *graces*.

I am this moment disagreeably interrupted by a letter: not from you, as I expected, but from a friend of yours at Paris, who informs me that you have a fever, which confines you at home. Since you have a fever, I am glad you have prudence enough with it to stay at home, and take care of yourself: a little more prudence might probably have prevented it. Your blood is young, and consequently hot, and you naturally make a great deal, by your good stomach and good digestion; you should therefore necessarily attenuate and cool it, from time to time, by gentle purges, or by a very low diet, for two or three days together, if you would avoid fevers. Lord Bacon, who was a very great physician, in both senses of the word, has this aphorism in his *Essay upon Health*, *Nihil magis ad sanitatem tribuit quam crebræ et domesticæ purgationes*. By *domesticæ*, he means those simple uncompounded purgatives which everybody can administer to themselves—such as senna-tea, stewed prunes and senna, chewing a little rhubarb, or dissolving an ounce and a half of manna in fair water, with the juice of half a lemon to make it palatable. Such gentle and unconfining evacuations would cer-

tainly prevent those feverish attacks, to which everybody at your age is subject.

By the way, I do desire, and insist, that whenever, from any indisposition, you are not able to write to me upon the fixed days, that Christian shall; and give me a *true* account how you are. I do not expect from him the Ciceronian epistolary style; but I will content myself with the Swiss simplicity and truth.

I hope you extend your acquaintance at Paris, and frequent variety of companies—the only way of knowing the world. Every set of company differs in some particulars from another; and a man of business must, in the course of his life, have to do with all sorts. It is a very great advantage to know the languages of the several countries one travels in; and different companies may, in some degree, be considered as different countries. Each has its distinctive language, customs, and manners: know them all, and you will wonder at none.

Adieu, child! Take care of your health; there are no pleasures without it.

London, February 20, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN all systems whatsoever, whether of religion, government, morals, &c., perfection is the object always proposed, though possibly unattainable—hitherto, at least, certainly unattained. However, those who aim carefully at the mark itself, will unquestionably come nearer to it than those who, from despair, negligence, or indolence, leave to chance the work of skill. The maxim holds equally true in common life: those who

aim at perfection will come infinitely nearer to it than those desponding, or indolent spirits, who foolishly say to themselves—Nobody is perfect; perfection is unattainable; to attempt it is chimerical; I shall do as well as others; why then should I give myself trouble to be what I never can, and what, according to the common course of things, I need not be—*perfect?*

I am very sure that I need not point out to you the weakness and the folly of this reasoning, if it deserves the name of reasoning. It would discourage, and put a stop to the exertion of any one of our faculties. On the contrary, a man of sense and spirit says to himself, Though the point of perfection may, (considering the imperfection of our nature) be unattainable, my care, my endeavours, my attention, shall not be wanting to get as near it as I can. I will approach it every day; possibly I may arrive at it at last; at least, (what I am sure is in my own power) I will not be distanced. Many fools (speaking of you) say to me, What, would you have him perfect? I answer, Why not? What hurt would it do him or me? Oh but that is impossible, say they. I reply, I am not sure of that: perfection in the abstract I admit to be unattainable; but what is commonly called perfection in a character, I maintain to be attainable, and not only that, but in every man's power. He has, continue they, a good head, a good heart, a good fund of knowledge, which will increase daily; what would you have more? Why, I would have every thing more that can adorn and complete a character. Will it do his head, his heart, or his knowledge, any harm, to have the utmost delicacy of manners, the

most shining advantages of air and address, the most endearing attentions, and the most engaging graces? But as he is, say they, he is loved wherever he is known. I am very glad of it, say I; but I would have him be liked before he is known, and loved afterwards. I would have him, by his first *abond* and address, make people wish to know him, and inclined to love him: he will save a great deal of time by it. Indeed, reply they, you are too nice, too exact, and lay too much stress upon things that are of very little consequence. Indeed, rejoin I, you know very little of the nature of mankind, if you take those things to be of little consequence: one cannot be too attentive to them; it is they that always engage the heart, of which the understanding is commonly the bubble. And I would much rather that he erred in a point of grammar, of history, of philosophy, &c. than in a point of manners and address. But consider, he is very young; all this will come in time. I hope so; but that time must be while he is young, or it will never be at all: the right *pli* must be taken young, or it will never be easy, nor seem natural. Come, come, say they (substituting, as is frequently done, assertion instead of argument) depend upon it he will do very well; and you have a great deal of reason to be satisfied with him. I hope and believe he will do well, but I would have him to do better than well. I am very well pleased with him, but I would be more, I would be proud of him. I would have him have lustre as well as weight. Did you ever know any body that re-united all these talents? Yes, I did; Lord Bolingbroke joined all the politeness, the manners, and the graces of a courtier, to the solidity of a

statesman, and to the learning of a pedant. He was *omnis homo*; and pray what should hinder my boy from being so too, if he has, as I think he has, all the other qualifications that you allow him? Nothing can hinder him, but neglect of, or inattention to, those objects, which his own good sense must tell him are of infinite consequence to him, and which therefore I will not suppose him capable of either neglecting or despising.

This (to tell you the whole truth) is the result of a controversy that passed yesterday, between Lady Herve and myself, upon your subject, and almost in the very words. I submit the decision of it to yourself; let your own good sense determine it, and make you act in consequence of that determination. The receipt to make this composition is short and infallible; here I give it you:

Take variety of the best company, wherever you are; be minutely attentive to every word and action; imitate respectively those whom you observe to be distinguished and considered for any one accomplishment; then mix all those several accomplishments together, and serve them up yourself to others.

I hope your fair, or rather your brown *American* is well. I hear that she makes very handsome presents, if she is not so herself. I am told there are people at Paris who expect from this secret connection to see in time a volume of letters superior to Madame de Graffigny's* Peruvian ones: I lay in my claim to one of the first copies.

* This lady was a daughter of the house of Issembourg, and became the wife of Hugues de Graffigny, chamberlain of the Duke of Lorraine, and moreover (adds Madame de Vanoz) *homme violent et em-*

Francis's *Cenit** has been acted twice with most universal applause; to-night is his third night, and I am going to it. I did not think it would have succeeded so well, considering how long our British audiences have been accustomed to murder, racks, and poison, in every tragedy; but it affected the heart so much, that it triumphed over habit and prejudice. All the women cried, and all the men were moved. The prologue, which is a very good one, was made entirely by Garrick. The epilogue is old Cibber's, but corrected, though not enough, by Francis. He will get a great deal of money by it; and consequently be better able to lend you sixpence upon an emergency.

The Parliament of Paris, I find by the newspapers, has not carried its point concerning the hospitals; and though the King has given up the Archbishop, yet, as he has put them under the management and direction *du Grand Conseil*, the Parliament is equally out of the question. This will naturally put you upon inquiring into the constitution of the *Grand Conseil*. You will, doubtless, inform yourself, who it is composed of, what things are *de son ressort*, whether or not there lies an appeal from thence to any other place; and of all other particulars that may give you a clear notion of this assembly. There are also three or four other *Conseils* in France of which you ought to know the constitution and the objects: I dare say you do

possess. Her literary reputation rests wholly on the work which Lord Chesterfield mentions, the *Lettres d'une Persuadée*, which first appeared, without her name, in 1747. She died in 1759.

* Francis's *Proserpine* is a translation, or rather, perhaps imitation of Marivaux's celebrated play. See Lord Chesterfield's letter to Marianne du Buisson of March 4, 1752. *Marquess's Correspondence*.

know them already, but if you do not, lose no time in informing yourself. These things, as I have often told you, are best learned in various French companies, but in no English ones ; for none of our countrymen trouble their heads about them. To use a very true image, collect, like the bee, your store from every quarter. In some companies (*parmi les fermiers généraux nommément*) you may, by proper inquiries, get a general knowledge at least of *les affaires de finances*. When you are with *des gens de robe*, suck them with regard to the constitution, and civil government, and *sic de cæteris*. This shows you the advantage of keeping a great deal of different French company ; an advantage much superior to any that you can possibly receive from loitering and sauntering away evenings in any English company at Paris, not even excepting Lord Albemarle's. Love of ease and fear of restraint, (to both which I doubt you are, for a young fellow, too much addicted) may invite you among your countrymen ; but pray withstand those mean temptations, *et prenez sur vous*, for the sake of being in those assemblies, which alone can inform your mind and improve your manners. You have not now many months to continue at Paris ; make the most of them : get into every house there if you can ; extend acquaintance, know everything and everybody there ; that when you leave it for other places you may be *au fait*, and even able to explain whatever you may hear mentioned concerning it. Adieu !

London, March 2, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WHEREABOUTS are you in Ariosto? Or have you gone through that most ingenious contexture of truth and lies, of serious and extravagant, of knights-errant, magicians, and all that various matter, which he announces in the beginning of his poem:

Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gli amori,
Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese io canto.

I am by no means sure that Homer had superior invention, or excelled more in description, than Ariosto. What can be more seducing and voluptuous, than the description of Alcina's person and palace? What more ingeniously extravagant than the search made in the moon for Orlando's lost wits, and the account of other people's that were found there? The whole is worth your attention, not only as an ingenious poem, but as the source of all modern tales, novels, fables, and romances; as Ovid's *Metamorphosis* was of the ancient ones: besides, that when you have read this work, nothing will be difficult to you in the Italian language. You will read Tasso's *Gerusalemme*, and the *Decamerone di Boccaccio* with great facility afterwards; and when you have read these three authors, you will, in my opinion, have read all the works of invention that are worth reading in that language; though the Italians would be very angry at me for saying so.

A gentleman should know those which I call classical works, in every language—such as Boileau, Corneille, Racine, Molière, &c., in French; Milton, Dryden, Pope, Swift, &c., in English; and the three

authors above-mentioned in Italian. Whether you have any such in German, I am not quite sure, nor, indeed, am I inquisitive. These sort of books adorn the mind, improve the fancy, are frequently alluded to by, and are often the subjects of conversations of the best companies. As you have languages to read, and memory to retain them, the knowledge of them is very well worth the little pains it will cost you, and will enable you to shine in company. It is not pedantic to quote and allude to them, which it would be with regard to the ancients.

Among the many advantages which you have had in your education, I do not consider your knowledge of several languages as the least. You need not trust to translations; you can go to the source; you can both converse and negotiate with people of all nations, upon equal terms, which is by no means the case of a man who converses or negotiates in a language which those with whom he has to do know much better than himself. In business, a great deal may depend upon the force and extent of one word; and in conversation, a moderate thought may gain, or a good one lose, by the propriety or impropriety, the elegance or inelegancy, of one single word. As, therefore, you now know four modern languages well, I would have you study (and, by the way, it will be very little trouble to you) to know them correctly, accurately, and delicately. Read some little books that treat of them, and ask questions concerning their delicacies of those who are able to answer you: as, for instance, should I say in French, *la lettre que je vous ai écrit*, or *la lettre que je vous ai écrite*? in which, I think, the French differ among themselves. There is a short

French grammar by the Port Royal, and another by Père Buffier,* both which are worth your reading; as is also a little book called *les synonymes François*. There are books of that kind upon the Italian language, into some of which I would advise you to dip. Possibly the German language may have something of the same sort; and since you already speak it, the more properly you speak it the better: one would, I think, as far as possible, do all one does correctly and elegantly. It is extremely engaging, to people of every nation, to meet with a foreigner who has taken pains enough to speak their language correctly: it flatters that local and national pride and prejudice, of which everybody has some share.

Francis's Eugenia, which I will send you, pleased most people of good taste here: the boxes were crowded till the sixth night, when the pit and gallery were totally deserted, and it was dropped. Distress, without death, was not sufficient to affect a true British audience, so long accustomed to daggers, racks, and bowls of poison; contrary to Horace's rule, they desire to see Medea murder her children upon the stage. The sentiments were too delicate to move them; and their hearts are to be taken by storm, not by parley.

Have you got the things which were taken from you at Calais restored?—and among them, the little packet which my sister gave you for Sir Charles Hotham? In this case, have you forwarded it to him? If you have not yet had an opportunity, you will have one soon, which I desire you will not omit:

* Claude Buffier was a Jesuit, and a contributor to the well-known *Journal de Trévoux*. His French grammar appeared in 1709.

it is by Monsieur D'Aillon, whom you will see in a few days at Paris, in his way to Geneva, where Sir Charles now is, and will remain some time. Adieu !

London, March 5, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

As I have received no letter from you by the usual post, I am uneasy upon account of your health; for, had you been well, I am sure you would have written, according to your engagement and my requisition. You have not the least notion of any care of your health; but, though I would not have you be a valetudinarian, I must tell you, that the best and most robust health requires some degree of attention to preserve. Young fellows, thinking they have so much health and time before them, are very apt to neglect or lavish both, and beggar themselves before they are aware: whereas a prudent economy in both would make them rich indeed; and, so far from breaking in upon their pleasures, would improve, and almost perpetuate them. Be you wiser; and, before it is too late, manage both with care and frugality, and lay out neither, but upon good interest and security.

I will now confine myself to the employment of your time, which, though I have often touched upon formerly, is a subject that, from its importance, will bear repetition. You have, it is true, a great deal of time before you; but, in this period of your life, one hour usefully employed may be worth more than four-and-twenty hereafter: a minute is precious to you now, whole days may possibly not be so forty years hence. Whatever time you allow, or can snatch, for

serious reading (I say snatch, because company and a knowledge of the world is now your chief object), employ it in the reading of some one book, and that a good one, till you have finished it; and do not distract your mind with various matters at the same time. In this light I would recommend to you to read *tout de suite* Grotius *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, translated by Barbeyrac, and Puffendorff's *Jus Gentium*, translated by the same hand. For accidental quarters of hours, read works of invention, wit, and humour, of the best, and not of trivial authors, either ancient or modern.

Whatever business you have, do it the first moment you can; never by halves, but finish it without interruption, if possible. Business must not be sauntered and trifled with; and you must not say to it, as Felix did to Paul, "at a more convenient season I will speak to thee." The most convenient season for business is the first; but study and business, in some measure, point out their own times, to a man of sense; time is much oftener squandered away in the wrong choice and improper methods of amusement and pleasures.

Many people think that they are in pleasures, provided they are neither in study nor in business. Nothing like it: they are doing nothing, and might just as well be asleep. They contract habitudes from laziness, and they only frequent those places where they are free from all restraints and attentions. Be upon your guard against this idle profusion of time; and let every place you go to be either the scene of quick and lively pleasures, or the school of your improvements: let every company you go into either gratify your senses, extend your knowledge, or refine

your manners. Have some decent object of gallantry in view at some places; frequent others, where people of wit and taste assemble; get into others, where people of superior rank and dignity command respect and attention from the rest of the company; but pray frequent no neutral places, from mere idleness and indolence. Nothing forms a young man so much as being used to keep respectable and superior company, where a constant regard and attention is necessary. It is true, this is at first a disagreeable state of restraint; but it soon grows habitual, and consequently easy; and you are amply paid for it by the improvement you make, and the credit it gives you. What you said some time ago was very true, concerning *le Palais Royal*: to one of your age the situation is disagreeable enough; you cannot expect to be much taken notice of: but all that time you can take notice of others; observe their manners, decypher their characters, and insensibly you will become one of the company.

All this I went through myself, when I was of your age. I have sat hours in company, without being taken the least notice of; but then I took notice of them, and learned, in their company, how to behave myself better in the next, till by degrees I became part of the best companies myself. But I took great care not to lavish away my time in those companies where there were neither quick pleasures nor useful improvements to be expected.

Sloth, indolence, and *mollesse* are pernicious and unbecoming a young fellow; let them be your *resource* forty years hence at soonest. Determine, at all events, and however disagreeable it may be to you in some respects, and for some time, to keep the most distin-

guished and fashionable company of the place you are at, either for their rank, or for their learning, or *le bel esprit et le goût*. This gives you credentials to the best companies, wherever you go afterwards. Pray, therefore, no indolence, no laziness; but employ every minute of your life in active pleasures or useful employments. Address yourself to some woman of fashion and beauty, wherever you are, and try how far that will go. If the place be not secured beforehand and garrisoned, nine times in ten you will take it. By attentions and respect you may always get into the highest company; and by some admiration and applause, whether merited or not, you may be sure of being welcome among *les sçavants et les beaux esprits*. There are but these three sorts of company for a young fellow, there being neither pleasure nor profit in any other.

My uneasiness with regard to your health is this moment removed by your letter of the 8th, N.S. which, by what accident I do not know, I did not receive before.

I long to read Voltaire's *Rome Sauvée*, which, by the very faults that your severe critics find with it, I am sure I shall like; for I will at any time give up a good deal of regularity for a great deal of *brillant*; and for the *brillant* surely nobody is equal to Voltaire. Catiline's conspiracy is an unhappy subject for a tragedy: it is too single, and gives no opportunity to the poet to excite any of the tender passions; the whole is one intended act of horror. Crébillon was sensible of this defect; and, to create another interest, most absurdly made Catiline in love with Cicero's daughter, and her with him.

I am very glad you went to Versailles, and dined with Monsieur de St. Contest.* That is company to learn *les bonnes manières* in; and it seems you had *les bons morceaux* into the bargain. Though you were no part of the King of France's conversation with the foreign ministers, and probably not much entertained with it, do you think that it is not very useful to you to hear it, and to observe the turn and manners of people of that sort? It is extremely useful to know it well. The same in the next rank of people, such as Ministers of State, &c., in whose company, though you cannot yet, at your age, bear a part, and consequently be diverted, you will observe and learn what hereafter it may be necessary for you to act.

Tell Sir John Lambert that I have this day fixed Mr. Spencer's having his credit upon him; Mr. Hoare had also recommended him. I believe Mr. Spencer will set out next month for some place in France, but not Paris. I am sure he wants a great deal of France; for at present he is most entirely English; and you know very well what I think of that. And so we bid you heartily good night.

(March, 1752.)†

A CHAPTER of the Garter is to be held at St. James's next Friday; in which Prince Edward, the

* François Dominique, Marquis de St. Contest, born in 1701, had, in September, 1751, succeeded the Marquis de Puisieux as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Madame de Pompadour in truth governed absolutely under his name. He died in 1754.

† This fragment, like an earlier one of the same kind (see note at p. 79 of this volume), has hitherto been printed without date at the end of this Correspondence. But the time when it was written may be clearly determined by the Chapter of the Garter which it mentions, and which took place on March 18, 1752.

Prince of Orange, the Earls of Lincoln, Winchelsea, and Cardigan, are to be elected Knights Companions of the Order of the Garter. Though solely nominated by the Crown, they are said to be elected; because there is a pretended election. All the Knights are summoned to attend the Sovereign at a Chapter, to be held on such a day, in order to elect so many new Knights into the vacant stalls of the deceased ones; accordingly they meet in the Council Chamber, where they all sit down according to their seniority, at a long table, where the Sovereign presides. There every Knight pretends to write a list of those for whom he intends to vote; and, in effect, writes down nine names, such as he thinks proper, taking care, however, to insert the names of those who are really to be elected; then the Bishop of Salisbury, who is always the Chancellor of the Order, goes round the table, and takes the paper of each Knight, pretends to look into them, and then declares the majority of votes to be for those persons who were nominated by the Crown. Upon this declaration, two of the old Knights go into the outward room, where the new ones are attending, and introduce them, one after another, according to their ranks. The new Knight kneels down before the King, who puts the riband about his neck; then he turns to the Prince of Wales, or, in his absence, to the oldest Knight, who puts the Garter about his leg. This is the ceremony of the Chapter: that of the Installation, which is always performed in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, completes the whole thing; for till then the new Knights cannot wear the Star, unless by a particular dispensation from the Sovereign, which is very seldom granted.

All ceremonies are in themselves very silly things; but yet, a man of the world should know them. They are the outworks of manners and decency, which would be too often broken in upon, if it were not for that defence, which keeps the enemy at a proper distance. It is for that reason that I always treat fools and coxcombs with great ceremony; true good breeding not being a sufficient barrier against them. The knowledge of the world teaches one to deal with different people differently, and according as characters and situations require. The *versatile ingenium* is a most essential point; and a man must be broke to it while he is young. Have it always in your thoughts, as I have you in mine. Adieu.

P.S.—This moment I receive your letter of the 15th, N. S. with which I am very well pleased: it informs me, and, what I like still better, it shows me that you are informed.

London, March 16, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

How do you go on with the most useful and most necessary of all studies, the study of the world? Do you find that you gain knowledge? And does your daily experience at once extend and demonstrate your improvement? You will possibly ask me how you can judge of that yourself. I will tell you a sure way of knowing. Examine yourself, and see whether your notions of the world are changed, by experience, from what they were two years ago in theory; for that alone is one favourable symptom of improvement. At that age (I remember it in myself) every notion that one forms is erroneous; one has seen few models,

and those none of the best, to form one's self upon. One thinks that everything is to be carried by spirit and vigour; that art is meanness, and that versatility and complaisance are the refuge of pusillanimity and weakness. This most mistaken opinion gives an indelicacy, a *brusquerie*, and a roughness to the manners. Fools, who can never be undeceived, retain them as long as they live: reflection, with a little experience, makes men of sense shake them off soon. When they come to be a little better acquainted with themselves, and with their own species, they discover that plain right reason is, nine times in ten, the fettered and shackled attendant of the triumph of the heart and passions; consequently they address themselves nine times in ten to the conqueror, not to the conquered: and conquerors, you know, must be applied to in the gentlest, the most engaging, and the most insinuating manner. Have you found out that every woman is infallibly to be gained by every sort of flattery, and every man by one sort or other? Have you discovered what variety of little things affect the heart, and how surely they collectively gain it? If you have you have made some progress. I would try a man's knowledge of the world as I would a school-boy's knowledge of Horace; not by making him construe *Mæcenâs atavis edite regibus*, which he could do in the first form, but by examining him as to the delicacy and *curiosa felicitas* of that poet. A man requires very little knowledge and experience of the world, to understand glaring, high-coloured, and decided characters; they are but few, and they strike at first: but to distinguish the almost imperceptible shades, and the nice gradations of virtue and vice, sense and folly,

strength and weakness, (of which characters are commonly composed) demands some experience, great observation, and minute attention. In the same cases, most people do the same things, but with this material difference, upon which the success commonly turns. —A man who has studied the world knows when to time, and where to place them; he has analysed the characters he applies to, and adapted his address and his arguments to them: but a man of what is called plain good sense, who has only reasoned by himself, and not acted with mankind, mistimes, misplaces, runs precipitately and bluntly at the mark, and falls upon his nose in the way. In the common manners of social life, every man of common sense has the rudiments, the A B C of civility; the means not to offend; and even wishes to please: and, if he has any real merit, will be received and tolerated in good company. But that is far from being enough; for though he may be received, he will never be desired; though he does not offend, he will never be loved; but, like some little, insignificant, neutral power, surrounded by great ones, he will neither be feared nor courted by any; but by turns invaded by all whenever it is their interest. A most contemptible situation! Whereas, a man who has carefully attended to, and experienced the various workings of the heart, and the artifices of the head; and who by one shade can trace the progression of the whole colour; who can, at the proper times, employ all the several means of persuading the understanding, and engaging the heart; may and will have enemies; but will and must have friends: he may be opposed, but he will be supported too; his talents may excite the jealousy of some, but his en-

gaging hearts will make him beloved by many more; he will be considerable, he will be considered. Many different qualifications must conspire to form such a man, and to make him at once respectable and amiable, and the least must be joined to the greatest; the latter would be unavailing without the former; and the former would be futile and frivolous without the latter. Learning is acquired by reading books; but the much more necessary learning, the knowledge of the world, is only to be acquired by reading men, and studying all the various editions of them. Many words in every language are generally thought to be synonymous; but those who study the language attentively, will find that there is no such thing; they will discover some little difference, some distinction, between all those words that are vulgarly called synonymous; one has always more energy, extent, or delicacy, than another: it is the same with men; all are in general, and yet no two in particular, exactly alike. Those who have not accurately studied, perpetually mistake them: they do not discern the shades and gradations that distinguish characters seemingly alike. Company, various company, is the only school for this knowledge. You ought to be by this time at least in the third form of that school, from whence the rise to the uppermost is easy and quick; but then you must have application and vivacity; and you must not only bear with, but even seek, restraint in most companies, instead of stagnating in one or two only, where indolence and love of ease may be indulged.

In the plan which I gave you in my last,* for your

* That letter is missing; or else the plan in question was comprised in that part of the last preceding letter which was lost.

future motions, I forgot to tell you, that, if a King of the Romans should be chosen this year, you shall certainly be at that election; and as upon those occasions, all strangers are excluded from the place of the election, except such as belong to some Ambassador, I have already eventually secured you a place in the *suite* of the King's Electoral Ambassador, who will be sent upon that account to Frankfort, or wherever else the election may be. This will not only secure you a sight of the show, but a knowledge of the whole thing; which is likely to be a contested one, from the opposition of some of the Electors and the protests of some of the Princes of the Empire. That election, if there is one, will, in my opinion, be a memorable era in the history of the empire; pens at least, if not swords, will be drawn; and ink, if not blood, will be plentifully shed, by the contending parties in that dispute. During the fray, you may securely plunder, and add to your present stock of knowledge of the *jus publicum imperii*. The Court of France has, I am told, appointed le President Ogier,* a man of great abilities, to go immediately to Ratisbon, *pour y souffler la discorde*. It must be owned, that France has always profited skilfully of its having guaranteed the treaty of Munster; which has given it a constant pretence to thrust itself into the affairs of the empire. When France got Alsace yielded by treaty, it was very willing to have held it as a fief of the empire; but the empire was then wiser. Every power should

* Le President Ogier became afterwards French Ambassador in Denmark, and was reprimanded by his Court for the part which he took in the Convention of Closter-Seven.—See Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 148.

be very careful, not to give the least pretence to a neighbouring power to meddle with the affairs of its interior. Sweden has already felt the effects of the Czarina's calling herself guarantee of its present form of government, in consequence of the treaty of Neustadt, confirmed afterwards by that of Abo; though, in truth, that guarantee was rather a provision against Russia's attempting to alter the then new-established form of government in Sweden, than any right given to Russia, to hinder the Swedes from establishing what form of government they pleased. Read them both, if you can get them. Adieu!

London, April 13, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVE this moment your letter of the 19th, N. S. with the enclosed pieces relative to the present dispute between the King and the Parliament. I shall return them by Lord Huntingdon, whom you will soon see at Paris, and who will likewise carry you the piece, which I forgot in making up the packet I sent you by the Spanish Ambassador. The representation of the Parliament is very well drawn, *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. They tell the King very respectfully, that in a certain case, *which they should think it criminal to suppose*, they would not obey him. This has a tendency to what we call here Revolution principles. I do not know what the Lord's anointed, his viceregent upon earth, divinely appointed by him, and accountable to none but him for his actions, will either think or do, upon these symptoms of reason and good sense, which seem to be breaking out all over France; but

this I foresee, that before the end of this century, the trade of both King and priest will not be half so good a one as it has been. Duclos, in his reflections, has observed, and very truly, *qu'il y a un germe de raison qui commence à se développer en France. A développement* that must prove fatal to Regal and Papal pretensions. Prudence may, in many cases, recommend an occasional submission to either; but when that ignorance, upon which an implicit faith in both could only be founded, is once removed, God's viceroy, and Christ's vicar, will only be obeyed and believed, as far as what the one orders, and the other says, is conformable to reason and truth.

I am very glad (to use a vulgar expression) that *you make as if you were not well*, though you really are: I am sure it is the likeliest way to keep so. Pray leave off entirely your greasy, heavy pastry, fat creams, and indigestible dumplings; and then you need not confine yourself to white meats, which I do not take to be one jot wholesomer than beef, mutton, and partridge.

Voltaire sent me from Berlin his *History du Siècle de Louis XIV.* It came at a very proper time; Lord Bolingbroke had just taught me how History should be read; Voltaire shows me how it should be written. I am sensible that it will meet with almost as many critics as readers. Voltaire must be criticised: besides, every man's favourite is attacked; for every prejudice is exposed, and our prejudices are our mistresses: reason is at best our wife, very often heard indeed, but seldom minded. It is the history of the human understanding, written by a man of parts, for the use of men of parts. Weak minds will not like it, even

though they do not understand it; which is commonly the measure of their admiration. Dull ones will want those minute and uninteresting details, with which most other histories are encumbered. He tells me all I want to know, and nothing more. His reflections are short, just, and produce others in his readers. Free from religious, philosophical, political, and national prejudices, beyond any historian I ever met with, he relates all those matters as truly and as impartially, as certain regards, which must always be to some degree observed, will allow him: for one sees plainly, that he often says much less than he would say, if he might. He has made me much better acquainted with the times of Louis XIV. than the innumerable volumes which I had read could do; and has suggested this reflection to me, which I had never made before—His vanity, not his knowledge, made him encourage all, and introduce many arts and sciences in his country. He opened in a manner the human understanding in France, and brought it to its utmost perfection; his age equalled in all, and greatly exceeded in many things (pardon me, pedants!) the Augustan. This was great and rapid; but still it might be done, by the encouragement, the applause, and the rewards of a vain, liberal, and magnificent Prince. What is much more surprising, is, that he stopped the operations of the human mind, just where he pleased; and seemed to say, "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." For, a bigot to his religion, and jealous of his power, free and rational thoughts upon either never entered into a French head during his reign; and the greatest geniuses that ever any age produced, never entertained a doubt of the Divine

right of Kings, or the infallibility of the Church. Poets, Orators, and Philosophers, ignorant of their natural rights, cherished their chains; and blind active faith triumphed, in those great minds, over silent and passive reason. The reverse of this seems now to be the case in France: reason opens itself; fancy and invention fade and decline.

I will send you a copy of this history by Lord Huntingdon, as I think it very probable, that it is not allowed to be published and sold at Paris. Pray read it more than once, and with attention, particularly the second volume; which contains short, but very clear accounts of many very interesting things, which are talked of by everybody, though fairly understood by very few. There are two very puerile affectations, which I wish this book had been free from; the one is, the total subversion of all the old established French orthography; the other is, the not making use of any one capital letter throughout the whole book, except at the beginning of a paragraph. It offends my eyes to see rome, paris, france, cæsar, henry the 4th, &c. begin with small letters; and I do not conceive, that there can be any reason for doing it half so strong as the reason of long usage is to the contrary. This is an affectation below Voltaire; * whom, I am not ashamed to say, that I admire and delight in, as an author, equally in prose and in verse.

I had a letter a few days ago, from Monsieur du Boccage, in which he says, *Monsieur Stanhope s'est jetté dans la politique, et je crois qu'il y réussira*; you

* This affectation has been judiciously corrected in the subsequent editions.

do very well, it is your destination; but remember, that to succeed in great things, one must first learn to please in little ones. Engaging manners and address must prepare the way for superior knowledge and abilities to act with effect. The late Duke of Marlborough's manners and address prevailed with the first King of Prussia to let his troops remain in the army of the Allies, when neither their representations, nor his own share in the common cause, could do it. The Duke of Marlborough had no new matter to urge to him, but had a manner which he could not, and did not, resist. Voltaire, among a thousand little delicate strokes of that kind, says of the Duke de la Feuillade,* *qu'il étoit l'homme le plus brillant et le plus aimable du Royaume, et quoique gendre du Ministre, il avoit pour lui la faveur publique.* Various little circumstances of that sort will often make a man of great real merit be hated, if he has not address and manners to make him be loved. Consider all your own circumstances seriously, and you will find, that, of all the arts, the art of pleasing is the most necessary for you to study and possess. A silly tyrant said, *oderint modo timeant*: a wise man would have said, *modo ament nihil timendum est mihi.* Judge from your own daily experience, of the efficacy of that pleasing *je ne sais quoi*, when you feel, as you and everybody certainly does, that in men it is more engaging than knowledge, in women than beauty.

I long to see Lord and Lady Blessington (who are not yet arrived), because they have lately seen you; and I always fancy that I can fish out something new

* See Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. xix. (vol. i. p. 329, ed. à la Haye, 1752).

concerning you from those who have seen you last: not that I shall much rely upon their accounts, because I distrust the judgment of Lord and Lady Blessington in those matters about which I am most inquisitive. They have ruined their own son, by what they called and thought, loving him. They have made him believe that the world was made for him, not he for the world; and unless he stays abroad a great while, and falls into very good company, he will expect, what he will never find, the attentions and complaisance from others which he has hitherto been used to from Papa and Mamma. This, I fear, is too much the case of Sir Charles Hotham, who, I doubt, will be run through the body, and be near dying, before he knows how to live. However you may turn out, you can never make me any of those reproaches. I indulged no silly womanish fondness for you: instead of inflicting my tenderness upon you, I have taken all possible methods to make you deserve it; and thank God, you do; at least, I know but one article in which you are different from what I could wish you, and you very well know what that is. I want that I and all the world should like you as well as I love you. Adieu.

London, April 30, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Avoir du monde is, in my opinion, a very just and happy expression for having address, manners, and for knowing how to behave properly in all companies; and it implies very truly, that a man that has not

these accomplishments, is not of the world. Without them, the best parts are inefficient, civility is absurd, and freedom offensive. A learned parson, rusting in his cell at Oxford or Cambridge, will reason admirably well upon the nature of man; will profoundly analyse the head, the heart, the reason, the will, the passions, the senses, the sentiments, and all those subdivisions of we know not what; and yet, unfortunately, he knows nothing of man: for he has not lived with him; and is ignorant of all the various modes, habits, prejudices, and tastes, that always influence and often determine him. He views man as he does colours in Sir Isaac Newton's prism, where only the capital ones are seen; but an experienced dyer knows all their various shades and gradations, together with the result of their several mixtures. Few men are of one plain, decided colour: most are mixed, shaded, and blended; and vary as much, from different situations, as changeable silks do from different lights. The man *qui a du monde* knows all this from his own experience and observation: the conceited cloistered philosopher knows nothing of it from his own theory; his practice is absurd and improper, and he acts as awkwardly as a man would dance who had never seen others dance, nor learned of a dancing-master, but who had only studied the notes by which dances are now pricked down as well as tunes. Observe and imitate, then, the address, the arts, and the manners of those *qui ont du monde*: see by what methods they first make, and afterwards improve, impressions in their favour. Those impressions are much oftener owing to little causes than to intrinsic merit, which is less volatile, and has not so sudden an

effect. Strong minds have undoubtedly an ascendant over weak ones, as Galigai Maréchale d'Ancre very justly observed, when, to the disgrace and reproach of those times, she was executed* for having governed Mary of Medicis by the arts of witchcraft and magic. But then ascendant is to be gained by degrees, and by those arts only which experience and the knowledge of the world teaches; for few are mean enough to be bullied, though most are weak enough to be bubbled. I have often seen people of superior, governed by people of much inferior, parts, without knowing or even suspecting that they were so governed. This can only happen when those people of inferior parts have more worldly dexterity and experience than those they govern. They see the weak and unguarded part, and apply to it: they take it, and all the rest follows. Would you gain either men or women, and every man of sense desires to gain both, *il faut du monde*. You have had more opportunities than ever any man had, at your age, of acquiring *ce monde*; you have been in the best companies of most countries, at an age when others have hardly been in any company at all. You are master of all those languages which John Trott seldom speaks at all, and never well; consequently you need be a stranger no where. This is the way, and the only way, of having the *du monde*; but, if you have it not, and have still any coarse rusticity about you, may one not apply to you the *rusticus expectat* of Horace?

This knowledge of the world teaches us more particularly two things, both which are of infinite con-

* On the 8th of July, 1617.

sequence, and to neither of which nature inclines us; I mean, the command of our temper, and of our countenance. A man who has no *monde* is inflamed with anger, or annihilated with shame, at every disagreeable incident: the one makes him act and talk like a madman, the other makes him look like a fool. But a man who has *du monde*, seems not to understand what he cannot or ought not to resent. If he makes a slip himself, he recovers it by his coolness, instead of plunging deeper by his confusion, like a stumbling horse. He is firm, but gentle; and practises that most excellent maxim, *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. The other is the *volto sciolto e pensieri stretti*. People, unused to the world, have babbling countenances; and are unskilful enough to show, what they have sense enough not to tell. In the course of the world, a man must very often put on an easy, frank countenance, upon very disagreeable occasions; he must seem pleased, when he is very much otherwise; he must be able to accost and receive with smiles, those whom he would much rather meet with swords. In Courts he must not turn himself inside out. All this may, nay must be done, without falsehood and treachery: for it must go no farther than politeness and manners, and must stop short of assurances and professions of simulated friendship. Good manners, to those one does not love, are no more a breach of truth, than "your humble servant," at the bottom of a challenge is; they are universally agreed upon, and understood, to be things of course. They are necessary guards of the decency and peace of society: they must only act defensively; and then not with arms poisoned with perfidy. Truth, but not the

whole truth, must be the invariable principle of every man, who has either religion, honour, or prudence. Those who violate it, may be cunning, but they are not able. Lies and perfidy are the refuge of fools and cowards. Adieu!

P. S.—I must recommend to you again, to take your leave of all your French acquaintance, in such a manner as may make them regret your departure, and wish to see and welcome you at Paris again; where you may possibly return before it is very long. This must not be done in a cold, civil manner, but with at least seeming warmth, sentiment, and concern. Acknowledge the obligations you have to them, for the kindness they have shown you during your stay at Paris; assure them, that, wherever you are, you shall remember them with gratitude; wish for opportunities of giving them proofs of your *plus tendre et respectueux souvenir*; beg of them, in case your good fortune should carry you to any part of the world where you could be of any the least use to them, that they would employ you without reserve. Say all this, and a great deal more, emphatically and pathetically; for you know *si vis me flere* —.* This can do you no harm, if you never return to Paris; but if you do, as probably you may, it will be of infinite use to you. Remember too, not to omit going to every house where you have ever been once, to take leave, and recommend yourself to their remembrance. The reputation which you leave at one place, where you have been, will circulate, and you will meet with it at

* *Si vis me flere, dolendum est. Primum ipsi tibi.*

Horat. De Arte Poet.

twenty places, where you are to go. That is a labour never quite lost.

This letter will show you, that the accident which happened to me yesterday,* and of which Mr. Grevenkop gives you an account, has had no bad consequences. My escape was a great one.

London, May 11, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I BREAK my word by writing this letter; but I break it on the allowable side, by doing more than I promised. I have pleasure in writing to you; and you may possibly have some profit in reading what I write; either of the motives were sufficient for me, both I cannot withstand. By your last, I calculate that you will leave Paris this day se'nnight; upon that supposition, this letter may still find you there.

Colonel Perry arrived here two or three days ago, and sent me a book from you, *Cassandra* abridged. I am sure it cannot be too much abridged. The spirit of that most voluminous work, fairly extracted, may be contained in the smallest *duodecimo*; and it is most astonishing, that there ever could have been people idle enough to write or read such endless heaps of the same stuff. It was, however, the occupation of thousands in the last century; and is still the private, though disavowed, amusement of young girls, and sentimental ladies. A love-sick girl finds, in the Captain with whom she is in love, all the courage and all the graces of the tender and accom-

* A fall from his horse in Hyde-park. See in the Miscellaneous Correspondence his letter to Mr. Dayrolles of May 19, 1752.

plished Oroondates: and many a grown-up, sentimental lady, talks delicate Clelia to the hero, whom she would engage to eternal love, or laments with her that love is not eternal.

Ah! qu'il est doux d'aimer, si l'on aimoit toujours!
Mais hélas! il n'est point d'éternelles amours.*

It is, however, very well to have read one of those extravagant works (of all which *La Calprénède's*† are the best), because it is well to be able to talk with some degree of knowledge upon all those subjects that other people talk sometimes upon; and I would by no means have anything that is known to others be totally unknown to you. It is a great advantage for any man to be able to talk or to hear, neither ignorantly nor absurdly, upon any subject; for I have known people, who have not said one word, hear ignorantly and absurdly; it has appeared in their inattentive and unmeaning faces.

This, I think, is as little likely to happen to you as to anybody of your age; and if you will but add a versatility and easy conformity of manners, I know no company in which you are likely to be *de trop*.

* Two lines from the *Celtie* of Mademoiselle de Scudery, which are ridiculed by Boileau in his ingenious dialogue, *Les Héros de Roman*. They are addressed by Lucretia to Brutus, and the reply of Brutus, which Boileau also quotes, is equally mawkish:

"Permettez moi d'aimer, merveille de nos jours,
"Vous verrez qu'on peut voir d'éternelles amours."

Well might the *Pluton* of Boileau's Dialogue exclaim: "Je ne sais tantôt plus où j'en suis. Lucrèce amoureuse! Lucrèce coquette! Et Brutus son gallant!"

† Gauthier de Costes, Seigneur de La Calprénède, died in 1663. His principal novels, *Cassandre* and *Cleopâtre*, fill the former ten, and the latter twelve, volumes! So that, as Lord Chesterfield intimates, there is some little room for abridgment.

This versatility is more particularly necessary for you at this time, now that you are going to so many different places; for though the manners and customs of the several Courts of Germany are in general the same, yet every one has its particular characteristic—some peculiarity or other, which distinguishes it from the next. This you should carefully attend to, and immediately adopt. Nothing flatters people more, nor makes strangers so welcome, as such an occasional conformity. I do not mean by this that you should mimic the air and stiffness of every awkward German Court; no, by no means; but I mean that you should only cheerfully comply, and fall in, with certain local habits—such as ceremonies, diet, turn of conversation, &c. People who are lately come from Paris, and who have been a good while there, are generally suspected, and especially in Germany, of having a degree of contempt for every other place. Take great care that nothing of this kind appear, at least outwardly, in your behaviour; but commend whatever deserves any degree of commendation, without comparing it with what you may have left, much better, of the same kind at Paris. As, for instance, the German kitchen is, without doubt, execrable, and the French delicious; however, never commend the French kitchen at a German table, but eat of what you can find tolerable there, and commend it, without comparing it to anything better. I have known many British Yahoos, who, though while they were at Paris conformed to no one French custom, as soon as they got anywhere else, talked of nothing but what they did, saw, and eat at Paris.

The freedom of the French is not to be used indis-

criminally at all the Courts in Germany, though their easiness may, and ought; but that, too, at some places more than others. The Courts of Mannheim and Bonn, I take to be a little more unbarbarised than some others: that of Mayence, an ecclesiastical one, as well as that of Treves (neither of which is much frequented by foreigners), retains, I conceive, a great deal of the Goth and Vandal still. There, more reserve and ceremony are necessary, and not a word of the French. At Berlin, you cannot be too French. Hanover, Brunswick, Cassel, &c., are of the mixed kind, *un peu décrottés, mais pas assez*.

Another thing which I most earnestly recommend to you, not only in Germany, but in every part of the world where you may ever be, is, not only real, but seeming attention to whomever you speak to, or to whoever speaks to you. There is nothing so brutally shocking, nor so little forgiven, as a seeming inattention to the person who is speaking to you; and I have known many a man knocked down for (in my opinion) a much slighter provocation than that shocking inattention which I mean. I have seen many people who, while you are speaking to them, instead of looking at, and attending to you, fix their eyes upon the ceiling, or some other part of the room, look out of the window, play with a dog, twirl their snuff-box, or pick their nose. Nothing discovers a little, futile, frivolous mind more than this, and nothing is so offensively ill-bred: it is an explicit declaration on your part that every, the most trifling, object deserves your attention more than all that can be said by the person who is speaking to you. Judge of the sentiments of hatred and resentment which such treatment must

excite in every breast where any degree of self-love dwells, and I am sure I never yet met with that breast where there was not a great deal. I repeat it again and again (for it is highly necessary for you to remember it) that sort of vanity and self-love is inseparable from human nature, whatever may be its rank or condition: even your footman will sooner forget and forgive a beating, than any manifest mark of slight and contempt. Be therefore, I beg of you, not only really, but seemingly and manifestly, attentive to whoever speaks to you: nay more, take their tone, and tune yourself to their unison. Be serious with the serious, gay with the gay, and trifle with the triflers. In assuming these various shapes, endeavour to make each of them seem to sit easy upon you, and even to appear to be your own natural one. This is the true and useful versatility, of which a thorough knowledge of the world at once teaches the utility, and the means of acquiring.

I am very sure, at least I hope, that you will never make use of a silly expression, which is the favourite expression, and the absurd excuse of all fools and blockheads. *I cannot do such a thing*—a thing by no means either morally or physically impossible. *I cannot* attend long together to the same thing, says one fool: that is, he is such a fool that he will not. I remember a very awkward fellow, who did not know what to do with his sword, and who always took it off before dinner, saying, that he could not possibly dine with his sword on; upon which I could not help telling him, that I really believed he could, without any probable danger either to himself or others. It is a shame and an absurdity for any man to say that he

cannot do all those things which are commonly done by all the rest of mankind.

Another thing, that I must earnestly warn you against, is laziness; by which more people have lost the fruit of their travels, than, perhaps, by any other thing. Pray be always in motion. Early in the morning go and see things; and the rest of the day go and see people. If you stay but a week at a place, and that an insignificant one, see, however, all that is to be seen there; know as many people, and get into as many houses, as ever you can.

I recommend to you likewise, though probably you have thought of it yourself, to carry in your pocket a map of Germany, in which the post-roads are marked; and also some short book of travels through Germany. The former will help to imprint in your memory situations and distances; and the latter will point out many things for you to see, that might otherwise possibly escape you: and which, though they may in themselves be of little consequence, you would regret not having seen, after having been at the places where they were.

Thus warned and provided for your journey, God speed you; *Felix faustumque sit!* Adieu.

London, May 27, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I SEND you the enclosed original,* from a friend of ours, with my own commentaries upon the text; a text which I have so often paraphrased, and commented upon already, that I believe I can hardly say any-

* That enclosure was not found amongst Mr. Stanhope's papers.

thing new upon it : but, however, I cannot give it over till I am better convinced, than I yet am, that you feel all the utility, the importance, and the necessity of it : nay, not only feel, but practise it. Your panegyrist allows you, what most fathers would be more than satisfied with in a son, and chides me for not contenting myself with *l'essentiellement bon* ; but I, who have been in no one respect like other fathers, cannot neither, like them, content myself with *l'essentiellement bon* ; because I know that it will not do your business in the world, while you want *quelques couches de vernis*. Few fathers care much for their sons, or, at least, most of them care more for their money ; and, consequently, content themselves with giving them, at the cheapest rate, the common run of education ; that is, a school till eighteen ; the university till twenty ; and a couple of years riding post through the several towns of Europe ; impatient till their boobies come home to be married, and, as they call it, settled. Of those who really love their sons, few know how to do it. Some spoil them by fondling them while they are young, and then quarrel with them when they are grown up, for having been spoiled ; some love them like mothers, and attend only to the bodily health and strength of the hopes of their family, solemnize his birthday, and rejoice, like the subjects of the Great Mogul, at the increase of his bulk ;* while others, minding, as they think, only essentials, take pains and pleasure to see in their heir, all their favourite weaknesses and imperfections. I hope and believe that I have kept clear of all these

* This fact is derived from the description of the Mogul Court by Tavernier. (*Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 266-72, ed. 1679.)

errors, in the education which I have given you. No weaknesses of my own have warped it, no parsimony has starved it, no rigour has deformed it. Sound and extensive learning was the foundation which I meant to lay; I have laid it; but that alone, I knew, would by no means be sufficient: the ornamental, the showish, the pleasing superstructure, was to be begun. In that view I threw you into the great world, entirely your own master, at an age when others either guzzle at the university, or are sent abroad in servitude to some awkward, pedantic, Scotch governor. This was to put you in the way, and the only way, of acquiring those manners, that address, and those graces, which exclusively distinguish people of fashion; and without which all moral virtues, and all acquired learning, are of no sort of use in Courts and *le beau monde*; on the contrary, I am not sure if they are not an hindrance. They are feared and disliked in those places, as too severe, if not smoothed and introduced by the *graces*; but of these graces, of this necessary *beau vernis*, it seems there are still *quelques couches qui manquent*. Now, pray let me ask you, coolly and seriously, *pourquoi ces couches manquent-elles?* For you may as easily take them, as you may wear more or less powder in your hair, more or less lace upon your coat. I can, therefore, account for your wanting them, no other way in the world, than from your not being yet convinced of their full value. You have heard some English bucks say, "D—— these finical outlandish airs, give me a "manly, resolute, manner. They make a rout with "their graces, and talk like a parcel of dancing-masters, and dress like a parcel of fops; one good

"Englishman will beat three of them." But let your own observation undeceive you of these prejudices. I will give you one instance only, instead of an hundred that I could give you, of a very shining fortune and figure, raised upon no other foundation whatsoever, than that of address, manners, and graces. Between you and me (for this example must go no farther,) what do you think made our friend, Lord Albemarle, Colonel of a regiment of Guards, Governor of Virginia, Groom of the Stole, and Ambassador to Paris; amounting in all to 16,000*l.* or 17,000*l.* a year? Was it his birth? No; a Dutch gentleman only. Was it his estate? No; he had none. Was it his learning, his parts, his political abilities and application? You can answer these questions as easily, and as soon, as I can ask them. What was it then? Many people wondered, but I do not; for I know, and will tell you. It was his air, his address, his manners, and his graces. He pleased, and by pleasing became a favourite; and by becoming a favourite became all that he has been since. Show me any one instance, where intrinsic worth and merit, unassisted by exterior accomplishments, have raised any man so high. You know the Duc de Richelieu, now *Maréchal, Cordon bleu, Gentilhomme de la Chambre*, twice Ambassador, &c. By what means? Not by the purity of his character, the depth of his knowledge, or any uncommon penetration and sagacity. Women alone formed and raised him. The Duchess of Burgundy* took a fancy to him, and had him before he

* Marie Adélaïde de Savoie who died in 1712, within a few days of her husband and their eldest son. Her character is drawn by St. Simon at some length, and with much discrimination and skill. (*Mem.*, vol. x. p. 181.)

was sixteen years old; this put him in fashion among the *beau monde*: and the late Regent's eldest daughter, now Madame de Modene,* took him next, and was near marrying him. These early connections with women of the first distinction, gave him those manners, graces, and address, which you see he has; and which, I can assure you, are all that he has; for, strip him of them, and he will be one of the poorest men in Europe. Man or woman cannot resist an engaging exterior; it will please, it will make its way. You want, it seems, but *quelques couches*; for God's sake lose no time in getting them; and now you have gone so far, complete the work. Think of nothing else till that work is finished: unwearied application will bring about anything; and surely your application can never be so well employed as upon that object, which is absolutely necessary to facilitate all others. With your knowledge and parts, if adorned by manners and graces, what may you not hope one day to be? But without them, you will be in the situation of a man who should be very fleet of one leg, but very lame of the other. He could not run, the lame leg would check and clog the well one, which would be very near useless.

From my original plan for your education, I meant to make you *un homme universel*; what depended upon me is executed, the little that remains undone depends singly upon you. Do not then disappoint, when you can so easily gratify me. It is your own

* This princess, Charlotte Agne, surnamed Mademoiselle de Valois, married, in 1720, Francis III. of the house of Este, Duke of Modena. Twenty years afterwards, the President De Brosses describes her as *fort grosse, assez haute en couleur, l'air majestueux et bon; en tout c'est toujours une belle femme.* (Lettres sur l'Italie, vol. ii. p. 459, ed. 1833.)

interest which I am pressing you to pursue, and it is the only return that I desire for all the care and affection of, Yours.

London, May 31, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE world is the book, and the only one to which, at present, I would have you apply yourself; and the thorough knowledge of it will be of more use to you, than all the books that ever were read. Lay aside the best book whenever you can go into the best company; and depend upon it, you change for the better. However, as the most tumultuous life, whether of business or pleasure, leaves some vacant moments every day, in which a book is the refuge of a rational being, I mean now to point out to you the method of employing those moments (which will and ought to be but few) in the most advantageous manner. Throw away none of your time upon those trivial futile books, published by idle or necessitous authors, for the amusement of idle and ignorant readers: such sort of books swarm and buzz about one every day; flap them away, they have no sting. *Certum pete finem*, have some one object for those leisure moments, and pursue that object invariably till you have attained it; and then take some other. For instance, considering your destination, I would advise you to single out the most remarkable and interesting eras of modern history, and confine all your reading to that era. If you pitch upon the Treaty of Munster, (and that is the proper period to begin with, in the course which I am now recommending) do not interrupt it

by dipping and deviating into other books, unrelative to it: but consult only the most authentic histories, letters, memoirs, and negotiations, relative to that great transaction; reading and comparing them with all that caution and distrust which Lord Bolingbroke recommends to you, in a better manner and in better words than I can.* The next period, worth your particular knowledge, is the Treaty of the Pyrenees; which was calculated to lay, and in effect did lay, the foundation of the succession of the House of Bourbon to the Crown of Spain. Pursue that in the same manner, singling, out of the millions of volumes written upon that occasion, the two or three most authentic ones; and particularly letters, which are the best authorities in matters of negotiation. Next come the Treaties of Nimeguen and Ryswick, postscripts in a manner to those of Munster and the Pyrenees. Those two transactions have had great light thrown upon them by the publication of many authentic and original letters and pieces. The concessions made at the Treaty of Ryswick, by the then triumphant Louis the Fourteenth, astonished all those who viewed things only superficially; but, I should think, must have been easily accounted for by those who knew the state of the kingdom of Spain, as well as of the health of its King, Charles the Second, at that time.

* See Lord Bolingbroke's fourth Letter on the Study of History. He warns us, that "History becomes very often a lying panegyric or a lying satire; for different nations, or different parties in the same nation, belie one another without respect to truth, as they murder one another without regard to right. . . . But different religions have not been so barbarous to one another as sects of the same religion; and, in like manner, nation has had better quarter from nation than party from party."

The interval, between the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, and the breaking out of the great war in 1702, though a short, is a most interesting one. Every week of it almost produced some great event. Two Partition Treaties, the death of the King of Spain, his unexpected Will, and the acceptance of it by Louis the Fourteenth, in violation of the second treaty of partition, just signed and ratified by him; Philip the Fifth, quietly and cheerfully received in Spain, and acknowledged as King of it, by most of those Powers, who afterwards joined in an alliance to dethrone him. I cannot help making this observation upon that occasion; That character has often more to do in great transactions, than prudence and sound policy: for Louis the Fourteenth gratified his personal pride, by giving a Bourbon King to Spain, at the expense of the true interest of France; which would have acquired much more solid and permanent strength by the addition of Naples, Sicily, and Lorraine, upon the foot of the second Partition Treaty; and I think it was fortunate for Europe that he preferred the Will. It is true, he might hope to influence his grandson; but he could never expect that his Bourbon posterity in France should influence his Bourbon posterity in Spain; he knew too well how weak the ties of blood are among men, and how much weaker still they are among Princes. The Memoirs of Count Harrach, and of Las Torres, give a good deal of light into the transactions of the Court of Spain, previous to the death of that weak King; and the letters of the Maréchal d'Harcourt, then the French Ambassador in Spain, of which I have authentic copies in manuscript, from the year 1698 to

1701, have cleared up that whole affair to me. I keep that book for you. It appears by those letters, that the imprudent conduct of the House of Austria, with regard to the King and Queen of Spain, and Madame Berlips, her favourite, together with the knowledge of the Partition Treaty, which incensed all Spain, were the true and only reasons of the Will in favour of the Duke of Anjou. Cardinal Portocarrero, nor any of the Grandees, were bribed by France, as was generally reported and believed at that time; which confirms Voltaire's anecdote upon that subject.* Then opens a new scene and a new century: Louis the Fourteenth's good fortune forsakes him, till the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene make him amends for all the mischief they had done him, by making the Allies refuse the terms of peace offered by him at Gertruydenberg. How the disadvantageous peace of Utrecht was afterwards brought on, you have lately read; and you cannot inform yourself too minutely of all those circumstances, that treaty being the freshest source from whence the late transactions of Europe have flowed. The alterations which have since happened, whether by wars or treaties, are so recent, that all the written accounts are to be helped out, proved, or contradicted, by the oral ones of almost every informed person, of a certain age or rank in life. For the facts, dates, and original pieces of this century, you will find them in Lamberti, till the year 1715, and after that time in Rousset's *Recueil*.

I do not mean that you should plod hours together

* *Néce de Louis XIV.*, ch. xvi.; which contains a brief, but clear, and for the most part exact, account of these transactions.

in researches of this kind; no, you may employ your time more usefully; but I mean, that you should make the most of the moments you do employ, by method, and the pursuit of one single object at a time; nor should I call it a digression from that object, if, when you meet with clashing and jarring pretensions of different Princes to the same thing, you had immediately recourse to other books, in which those several pretensions were clearly stated; on the contrary, that is the only way of remembering those contested rights and claims: for, were a man to read *tout de suite*, *Schwederus's Theatrum Pretensionum*, he would only be confounded by the variety, and remember none of them: whereas, by examining them occasionally, as they happen to occur, either in the course of your historical reading, or as they are agitated in your own times, you will retain them, by connecting them with those historical facts which occasioned your inquiry. For example, had you read, in the course of two or three folios of Pretensions, those, among others, of the two Kings of England and Prussia to Ost Frise, it is impossible that you should have remembered them; but now that they are become the debated object at the Diet at Ratisbon, and the topic of all political conversations, if you consult both books and persons concerning them, and inform yourself thoroughly, you will never forget them as long as you live. You will hear a great deal of them on one side, at Hanover; and as much on the other side, afterwards, at Berlin: hear both sides, and form your own opinion; but dispute with neither.

Letters from foreign Ministers to their Courts, and from their Courts to them, are, if genuine, the best and

most authentic records you can read, as far as they go. Cardinal d'Ossat's, President Jeannin's,* D'Estrades's,† Sir William Temple's, will not only inform your mind, but form your style; which, in letters of business, should be very plain and simple, but at the same time exceedingly clear, correct, and pure.

All that I have said may be reduced to these two or three plain principles: 1st. That you should now read very little, but converse a great deal: 2dly. To read no useless unprofitable books: and 3dly. That those which you do read may all tend to a certain object, and be relative to, and consequential of, each other. In this method, half-an-hour's reading every day will carry you a great way. People seldom know how to employ their time to the best advantage till they have too little left to employ; but if, at your age, in the beginning of life, people would but consider the value of it, and put every moment to interest, it is incredible what an additional fund of knowledge and pleasure such an economy would bring in. I look back with regret upon that large sum of time, which in my youth I lavished away idly, without either improvement or pleasure. Take warning betimes, and enjoy every moment; pleasures do not commonly last

* The President Jeannin, born in 1540, had attached himself to the party of the League, but afterwards became one of the most able and upright Ministers of Henry IV., and was entrusted by that great monarch with several important missions to the States-General in the years 1607, 1608, and 1609. His *Negotiations* were first published in 1656, by his grandson l'Abbé Castille.

† Godefroi, Comte d'Estrades, a Maréchal of France, distinguished himself in the course of a long life (1607 to 1686) by his skilful negotiations in various countries, especially in Germany and Holland. In 1709 his *Lettres et Mémoires* appeared in five volumes; but a far more complete edition, extending to nine volumes, followed in 1743.

so long as life, and therefore should not be neglected; and the longest life is too short for knowledge, consequently every moment is precious.

I am surprised at having received no letter from you since you left Paris. I still direct this to Strasburg, as I did my two last. I shall direct my next to the post-house at Mayence, unless I receive, in the mean time, contrary instructions from you. Adieu! Remember *les attentions*: they must be your passports into good company.

London, June 23, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I DIRECT this letter to Mayence, where I think it is likely to meet you, supposing, as I do, that you stayed three weeks at Manheim after the date of your last from thence; but should you have stayed longer at Manheim, to which I have no objection, it will wait for you at Mayence. Mayence will not, I believe, have charms to detain you above a week; so that I reckon you will be at Bonn at the end of July, N. S. There you may stay just as little or as long as you please, and then proceed to Hanover.

I had a letter by the last post from a relation of mine at Hanover, Mr. Stanhope Aspinwall,* who is in the Duke of Newcastle's office, and has lately been appointed the King's Minister to the Dey of Algiers; a post which, notwithstanding your views of foreign affairs, I believe you do not envy him. He tells me

* Mr. Aspinwall's mother was a distant cousin of Lord Chesterfield, the daughter of Charles Stanhope, Esq., who was a grandson of the first, and great-grandfather of the present, Earl.

in that letter there are very good lodgings to be had at one Mrs. Meyers', the next door to the Duke of Newcastle's, which he offers to take for you: I have desired him to do it, in case Mrs. Meyers will wait for you till the latter end of August or the beginning of September, N. S. which I suppose is about the time when you will be at Hanover. You will find this Mr. Aspinwall of great use to you there. He will exert himself to the utmost to serve you: he has been twice or thrice at Hanover, and knows all the *allures* there: he is very well with the Duke of Newcastle,* and will puff you there. Moreover, if you have a mind to work as a volunteer in that *bureau*, he will assist and inform you: in short, he is a very honest, sensible, and informed man; *mais ne paye pas beaucoup de sa figure; il abuse même du privilège qu'ont les hommes d'être laids; et il ne sera pas en reale avec les lions et les leopards qu'il trouvera à Alger.*

As you are entirely master of the time when you will leave Bonn and go to Hanover, so are you master to stay at Hanover as long as you please, and to go from thence where you please, provided that at Christmas you are at Berlin for the beginning of the Carnival: this I would not have you say at Hanover, considering the mutual disposition of those two Courts; but, when anybody asks you where you are to go next, say that you propose rambling in Germany, at Brunswick, Cassel, &c., till the next spring, when you intend to be in Flanders, in your way to England. I take Berlin, at this time, to be the politest, the most shining, and the most useful Court in Europe for a young fellow

* Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, was at this period Secretary of State, and was attending the King as such on a visit to Hanover.

to be at; and therefore I would upon no account not have you there, for at least a couple of months of the Carnival. If you are as well received, and pass your time as well, at Bonn, as I believe you will, I would advise you to remain there till about the 20th of August, N.S.; in four days more you will be at Hanover. As for your stay there, it must be shorter or longer according to certain circumstances *which you know of*;* supposing them at the best, then stay till within a week or ten days of the King's return to England; but supposing them at the worst, your stay must not be too short, for reasons which you also know: no resentment must either appear or be suspected; therefore, at worst, I think you must remain there a month, and, at best, as long as ever you please. But I am convinced that all will turn out very well for you there. Everybody is engaged or inclined to help you; the Ministers, both English and German, the principal Ladies, and most of the foreign Ministers; so that I may apply to you *nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia*. Du Perron will, I believe, be back there, from Turin, much about the time you get thither; pray be very attentive to him, and connect yourself with him as much as ever you can; for, besides that he is a very pretty and well-informed man, he is very much in fashion at Hanover, is personally very well with the King and certain Ladies; so that a visible intimacy and connection with him will do you credit and service. Pray cultivate Monsieur Hop, the Dutch

* It was feared that some obstacle or objection might arise on account of Mr. Stanhope's illegitimate birth. This apprehension is frequently hinted at in the following correspondence, and was ere long verified at Brussels. See Lord Chesterfield's letter to Mr. Dayrolles of October 30, 1752.

Minister, who has always been very much my friend, and will, I am sure, be yours: his manners, it is true, are not very engaging; he is rough, but he is sincere. It is very useful sometimes to see the things which one ought to avoid, as it is right to see very often those which one ought to imitate; and my friend Hop's manners will frequently point out to you what yours ought to be, by the rule of contraries.

Congreve points out a sort of critics, to whom he says that we are doubly obliged:

Rules for good writing they with pains indite,
Then show us what is bad, by what they write.

It is certain that Monsieur Hop, with the best heart in the world, and a thousand good qualities, has a thousand enemies, and hardly a friend, singly from the roughness of his manners.

N. B.—I heartily wish you could have staid long enough at Manheim to have been seriously and desperately in love with Madame de Taxis, who, I suppose, is a proud, insolent, fine lady, and who would consequently have expected attentions little short of adoration: nothing would do you more good than such a passion; and I live in hopes that somebody or other will be able to excite such a one in you: your hour may not yet be come, but it will come. Love has been not unaptly compared to the small-pox, which most people have sooner or later. Iphigenia had a wonderful effect upon Cimon; I wish some Hanoverian Iphigenia may try her skill upon you.

I recommend to you again, though I have already done it twice or thrice, to speak German, even affect-

edly, while you are at Hanover, which will show that you prefer that language, and be of more use to you there with *somebody** than you can imagine. When you carry my letters to Monsieur Munchausen and Monsieur Schwiegeldt, address yourself to them in German; the latter speaks French very well, but the former extremely ill. Show great attention to Madame Munchausen's daughter, who is a great favourite: these little trifles please mothers, and sometimes fathers, extremely. Observe and you will find, almost universally, that the least things either please or displease most; because they necessarily imply either a very strong desire of obliging, or an unpardonable indifference about it. I will give you a ridiculous instance enough of this truth from my own experience. When I was Ambassador the first time in Holland, Comte de Wassenaer and his wife, people of the first rank and consideration, had a little boy of about three years old, of whom they were exceedingly fond; in order to make my court to them, I was so too, and used to take the child often upon my lap and play with him. One day his nose was very snotty, upon which I took out my handkerchief and wiped it for him; this raised a loud laugh, and they called me a very handy nurse; but the father and mother were so pleased with it, that to this day it is an anecdote in the family; and I never receive a letter from Comte Wassenaer, but he makes me the compliments *du morveux que j'ai mouché autrefois*: who, by the way, I am assured, is now the prettiest young fellow in Holland. Where one would gain people, remember that nothing is little. Adieu!

* King George the Second.

London, June 25, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

As I have reason to fear, from your last letter of the 18th, N. S., from Mannheim, that all, or at least most of my letters to you since you left Paris have miscarried, I think it requisite, at all events, to repeat in this the necessary parts of those several letters, as far as they relate to your future motions.

I suppose that this will either find you, or be but a few days before you, at Bonn, where it is directed; and I suppose, too, that you have fixed your time for going from thence to Hanover. If things *turn out well at Hanover*, as in my opinion they will, *Chi stà bene non si muova*, stay there till a week or ten days before the King sets out for England; but, should *they turn out ill*, which I cannot imagine, stay however a month, that your departure may not seem a step of discontent or peevishness, the very suspicion of which is by all means to be avoided. Whenever you leave Hanover, be it sooner or later, where would you go? *Ella è Padrone*, and I give you your choice: Would you pass the months of November and December at Brunswick, Cassel, &c.? Would you choose to go for a couple of months to Ratisbon, where you would be very well recommended to, and treated by, the King's Electoral Minister, the Baron de Bèhr, and where you would improve your *jus publicum*? Or, would you rather go directly to Berlin, and stay there till the end of the Carnival? Two or three months at Berlin are, considering all circumstances, necessary for you; and the Carnival months are the best; *pour le reste décidez en dernier ressort, et sans appel comme d'abus*. Let me only

. . .

know your decree when you have formed it. Your good or ill success at Hanover will have a very great influence upon your subsequent character, figure, and fortune in the world; therefore, I confess, that I am more anxious about it than ever bride was on her wedding-night, when wishes, hopes, fears, and doubts, tumultuously agitate, please, and terrify her. It is your first crisis; the character which you acquire there will, more or less, be that which will abide by you for the rest of your life. You will be tried and judged there, not as a boy, but as a man; and from that moment there is no appeal for character: it is fixed. To form that character advantageously, you have three objects particularly to attend to—your character, as a man of morality, truth, and honour; your knowledge in the objects of your destination, as a man of business; and your engaging and insinuating address, air, and manners, as a courtier: the sure and only steps to favour. Merit at Courts, without favour, will do little or nothing; favour, without merit, will do a good deal; but favour and merit together will do everything. Favour at Courts depends upon so many, such trifling, such unexpected, and unforeseen events, that a good Courtier must attend to every circumstance, however little, that either does or can happen; he must have no absences, no *distractions*; he must not say, “I did not mind it! “who would have thought it?” He ought both to have minded and to have thought it. A chambermaid has sometimes caused revolutions in Courts, which have produced others in kingdoms. Were I to make my way to favour in a Court, I would neither wilfully, nor by negligence, give a dog or a cat there

reason to dislike me. Two *pies grièches*, well instructed, you know, made the fortune of De Luines with Louis XIII. Every step a man makes at Court requires as much attention and circumspection as those which were made formerly between hot ploughshares, in the Ordeal, or fiery trials; which, in those times of ignorance and superstition, were looked upon as demonstrations of innocence or guilt. Direct your principal battery at Hanover at the Duke of Newcastle's: there are many very weak places in that citadel, where, with a very little skill, you cannot fail making a great impression. Ask for his orders in everything you do; talk Austrian and Antigallican to him; and, as soon as you are upon a foot of talking easily to him, tell him *en badinant*, that his skill and success in thirty or forty elections in England leave you no reason to doubt of his carrying his election for Frankfort, and that you look upon the Archduke* as his Member for the Empire. In his hours of festivity and compotation, drop, that he puts you in mind of what Sir William Temple says of the Pensionary De Witt, who at that time governed half Europe—that he appeared at balls, assemblies, and public places, as if he had nothing else to do, or to think of. When he talks to you upon foreign affairs, which he will often do, say that you really cannot presume to give any opinion of your own upon those matters, looking upon yourself, at present, only as a postscript to the *corps diplomatique*; but that, if his Grace will be pleased to make you an additional volume to it, though but in *duodecimo*, you will do your

* The Archduke Joseph, eldest son of Maria Theresa, and afterwards Emperor.

best, that he shall neither be ashamed nor repent of it. He loves to have a favourite, and to open himself to that favourite; he has now no such person with him; the place is vacant, and if you have dexterity you may fill it. In one thing alone, do not humour him—I mean drinking; for as I believe you have never yet been drunk, you do not yourself know how you can bear your wine, and what a little too much of it may make you do or say. You might possibly kick down all you had done before.

You do not love gaming, and I thank God for it; but at Hanover I would have you show, and profess, a particular dislike to play, so as to decline it upon all occasions, unless where one may be wanted to make a fourth at whist or quadrille: and then take care to declare it the result of your complaisance, not of your inclinations. Without such precaution, you may very possibly be suspected, though unjustly, of loving play, upon account of my former passion for it; and such a suspicion would do you a great deal of hurt, especially with the King, who detests gaming. I must end this abruptly. God bless you!

MY DEAR FRIEND,

VERSATILITY as a Courtier may be almost decisive to you hereafter; that is, it may conduce to, or retard, your preferment in your own destination. The first reputation goes a great way; and if you fix a good one at Hanover, it will operate also to your advantage in England. The trade of a Courtier is as much a trade as that of a shoemaker; and he who applies himself the most will work the best: the only diffi-

culty is to distinguish (what I am sure you have sense enough to distinguish) between the right and proper qualifications and their kindred faults; for there is but a line between every perfection and its neighbouring imperfection. As for example, you must be extremely well-bred and polite, but without the troublesome forms and stiffness of ceremony. You must be respectful and assenting, but without being servile and abject. You must be frank, but without indiscretion, and close without being costive. You must keep up dignity of character without the least pride of birth or rank. You must be gay within all the bounds of decency and respect; and grave without the affectation of wisdom, which does not become the age of twenty. You must be essentially secret without being dark and mysterious. You must be firm, and even bold, but with great seeming modesty.

With these qualifications, which, by the way, are all in your own power, I will answer for your success, not only at Hanover, but at any Court in Europe. And I am not sorry that you begin your apprenticeship at a little one; because you must be more circumspect, and more upon your guard there, than at a great one, where every little thing is not known nor reported.

When you write to me or to anybody else from thence, take care that your letters contain commendations of all you see and hear there; for they will most of them be opened and read: but as frequent couriers will come from Hanover to England, you may sometimes write to me without reserve; and put your letters into a very little box, which you may send safely by some of them.

I must not omit mentioning to you, that at the

Duke of Newcastle's table, where you will frequently dine, there is a great deal of drinking; be upon your guard against it, both upon account of your health, which would not bear it, and of the consequences of your being flustered and heated with wine; it might engage you in scrapes and frolics which the King (who is a very sober man himself) detests. On the other hand, you should not seem too grave and too wise to drink like the rest of the company; therefore use art: mix water with your wine; do not drink all that is in the glass; and if detected and pressed to drink more, do not cry out sobriety, but say that you have lately been out of order, that you are subject to inflammatory complaints, and that you must beg to be excused for the present. A young fellow ought to be wiser than he should seem to be; and an old fellow ought to seem wise whether he really be so or not.

During your stay at Hanover, I would have you make two or three excursions to parts of that Electorate; the Hartz, where the silver mines are; Göttingen, for the university; Stade, for what commerce there is. You should also go to Zell. In short, see everything that is to be seen there, and inform yourself well of all the details of that country. Go to Hamburg for three or four days, know the constitution of that little Hanseatic Republic, and inform yourself well of the nature of the King of Denmark's pretensions to it.

If all things turn out right for you at Hanover, I would have you make it your head-quarters till about a week or ten days before the King leaves it; and then go to Brunswick, which, though a little, is a very

polite pretty Court. You may stay there a fortnight or three weeks, as you like it; and from thence go to Cassel, and there stay till you go to Berlin, where I would have you be by Christmas. At Hanover you will very easily get good letters of recommendation to Brunswick and to Cassel. You do not want any to Berlin; however, I will send you one for Voltaire.* *A propos* of Berlin; be very reserved and cautious, while at Hanover, as to that King and that country; both which are detested, because feared by everybody there, from his Majesty down to the meanest peasant: but however, they both extremely deserve your utmost attention; and you will see the arts and wisdom of government better in that country, now, than in any other in Europe. You must stay three months at Berlin, if you like it, as I believe you will; and after that I hope we shall meet here again.

Of all the places in the world (I repeat it once more) establish a good reputation at Hanover, *et faites vous valoir là, autant qu'il est possible, par le brillant, les manières, et les graces*. Indeed, it is of the greatest importance to you, and will make any future application to the King in your behalf very easy. He is more taken by those little things, than any man, or even woman, that I ever knew in my life: and I do not wonder at him. In short, exert to the utmost all your means and powers to please, and remember, that he who pleases the most will rise the soonest and the highest. Try but once the pleasure and advantage of pleasing, and I will answer, that you will never more neglect the means.

* That letter, which is dated August 27, 1752, will be found in the Miscellaneous Correspondence.

I send you herewith two letters, the one to Monsieur Munchausen, the other to Monsieur Schwiegeldt, an old friend of mine, and a very sensible knowing man. They will both, I am sure, be extremely civil to you, and carry you into the best company; and then it is your business to please that company. I never was more anxious about any period of your life, than I am about this your Hanover expedition, it being of so much more consequence to you than any other. If I hear from thence that you are liked and loved there for your air, your manners, and address, as well as esteemed for your knowledge, I shall be the happiest man in the world; judge then what I must be, if it happens otherwise. Adieu!

London, July 21, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

By my calculation, this letter may probably arrive at Hanover three or four days before you; and as I am sure of its arriving there safe, it shall contain the most material points that I have mentioned in my several letters to you since you left Paris, as if you had received but few of them, which may very probably be the case.

As for your stay at Hanover, it must not *in all events* be less than a month; but, if things turn out to *your satisfaction*, it may be just as long as you please. From thence you may go wherever you like; for I have so good an opinion of your judgment, that I think you will combine and weigh all circumstances, and choose the properest places. Would you saunter at some of the small Courts, as Brunswick, Cassel, &c.,

till the Carnival at Berlin? You are master. Would you pass a couple of months at Ratisbon, which might not be ill employed? *A la bonne heure*. Would you go to Brussels, stay a month or two there with Dayrollee, and from thence to Mr. Yorke, at the Hague? With all my heart. Or, lastly, would you go to Copenhagen and Stockholm? *Ella è anche Padrone*: choose entirely for yourself, without any farther instructions from me; only let me know your determination in time, that I may settle your credit, in case you go to places where at present you have none. Your object should be to see the *mores multorum hominum et urbes*; begin and end it where you please.

By what you have already seen of the German Courts, I am sure you must have observed that they are much more nice and scrupulous in points of ceremony, respect, and attention, than the greater Courts of France and England. You will therefore, I am persuaded, attend to the minutest circumstances of address and behaviour, particularly during your stay at Hanover, which (I will repeat it, though I have said it often to you already) is the most important preliminary period of your whole life. Nobody in the world is more exact in all points of good-breeding than the King, and it is the part of every man's character that he informs himself of first. The least negligence, or the slightest inattention, reported to him, may do you infinite prejudice, as their contraries would service.

If Lord Albemarle (as I believe he did) trusted you with the secret affairs of his department, let the Duke of Newcastle know that he did so, which will be an inducement to him to trust you too, and possibly to

employ you in affairs of consequence. Tell him that, though you are young, you know the importance of secrecy in business, and can keep a secret; that I have always inculcated this doctrine into you, and have, moreover, strictly forbidden you ever to communicate, even to me, any matters of a secret nature which you may happen to be trusted with in the course of busi-

As for business, I think I can trust you to yourself; but I wish I could say as much for you with regard to those exterior accomplishments which are absolutely necessary to smooth and shorten the way to it. Half the business is done when one has gained the heart and the affections of those with whom one is to transact it. Air and address must begin, manners and attention must finish, that work. I will let you into one secret concerning myself, which is, that I owe much more of the success which I have had in the world to my manners, than to any superior degree of merit or knowledge. I desired to please, and I neglected none of the means. This, I can assure you, without any false modesty, is the truth. You have more knowledge than I had at your age, but then I had much more attention and good-breeding than you. Call it vanity if you please, and possibly it was so; but my great object was to make every man I met with like me, and every woman love me. I often succeeded; but why? By taking great pains; for otherwise I never should; my figure by no means entitled me to it, and I had certainly an up-hill game; whereas your countenance would help you, if you made the most of it, and proscribed for ever the guilty, gloomy, and funereal part of it. Dress, address, and air, would

become your best countenance, and make your little figure pass very well.

If you have time to read at Hanover, pray let the books you read be all relative to the history and constitution of that country, which I would have you know as correctly as any Hanoverian in the whole Electorate. Inform yourself of the powers of the States, and of the nature and extent of the several Judicatures; the particular articles of trade and commerce of Bremen, Harburg, and Stade; the details and value of the mines of the Hartz. Two or three short books will give you the outlines of all these things; and conversation, turned upon those subjects, will do the rest, and better than books can.

Remember of all things to speak nothing but German there; make it (to express myself pedantically,) your vernacular language, and study to speak it with purity and elegance, if it has any. This will not only make you perfect in it, but will please, and make your court there better than anything. *A propos* of languages; did you improve your Italian while you were in Paris, or did you forget it? Had you a master there; and what Italian books did you read with him? If you are master of Italian, I would have you afterwards, by the first convenient opportunity, learn Spanish, which you may very easily, and in a very little time do; you will then, in the course of your foreign business, never be obliged to employ, pay, or trust any translator, for any European language.

As I love to provide eventually for everything that can possibly happen, I will suppose the worst that can befall you at Hanover. In that case, I would have you go immediately to the Duke of Newcastle, and

beg his Grace's advice, or rather orders, what you should do; adding, that his advice will always be orders to you. You will tell him, that, though you are exceedingly mortified, you are much less so, than you should otherwise be, from the consideration, that, being utterly unknown to his Majesty, his objection could not be personal to you, and could only arise from circumstances, which it was not in your power either to prevent or remedy; that if his Grace thought, that your continuing any longer there would be disagreeable, you entreated him to tell you so; and that, upon the whole, you referred yourself entirely to him, whose orders you should most scrupulously obey. But this precaution, I dare say, is *ex abundanti*, and will prove unnecessary; however, it is always right to be prepared for all events, the worst as well as the best; it prevents hurry and surprise, two dangerous situations in business: for I know no one thing so useful, so necessary in all business, as great coolness, steadiness, and *sang froid*; they give an incredible advantage over whomever one has to do with.

I have received your letter of the 15th, N.S. from Mayence, where I find that you have diverted yourself much better than I expected. I am very well acquainted with Comte Cobentzel's* character, both of parts and business. He could have given you letters to Bonn, having formerly resided there himself. You will not be so agreeably *electrified*, where this letter will find you, as you were both at Manheim and

* Charles, Count Cobentzel, who was born in 1712, and died in 1770, was high in favour at the Court of Vienna, and faithfully served it in several important diplomatic missions. According to M. de Stassart "peu d'hommes d'état ont porté plus loin ces grâces, ces agrémens et cet esprit qui font le charme de la société."

Mayence; but I hope you may meet with a second German Mrs. Fitzgerald, who may make you forget the two former ones, and practise your German. Such transient passions will do you no harm; but, on the contrary, a great deal of good: they will refine your manners, and quicken your attention; they give a young fellow *du brillant*, and bring him into fashion; which last is a great article in setting out in the world.

I have wrote, above a month ago, to Lord Albemarle, to thank him for all his kindnesses to you; but pray have you done as much? Those are the necessary attentions, which should never be omitted, especially in the beginning of life, when a character is to be established.

That ready wit which you so partially allow me, and so justly Sir Charles Williams, may create many admirers; but, take my word for it, it makes few friends. It shines and dazzles like the noon-day sun, but, like that too, is very apt to scorch; and therefore is always feared. The milder morning and evening light and heat of that planet soothe and calm our minds. Good sense, complaisance, gentleness of manners, attentions, and graces, are the only things that truly engage, and durably keep the heart at long run. Never seek for wit; if it presents itself, well and good; but even in that case, let your judgment interpose; and take care that it be not at the expense of any body. Pope says very truly,

There are whom Heaven has blest with store of wit,
Yet want as much again to govern it.

And in another place, I doubt with too much truth,

For wit and judgment ever are at strife,
Though meant each other's aid—like man and wife.

The Germans are very seldom troubled with any extraordinary ebullitions or effervescences of wit, and it is not prudent to try it upon them; whoever does, *offendet solido*.

Remember to write me very minute accounts of all your transactions at Hanover, for they excite both my impatience and anxiety. Adieu.

London, August 4, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I AM extremely concerned at the return of your old asthmatic complaint, which your letter from Cassel of the 28th July, N. S. informs me of. I believe it is chiefly owing to your own negligence; for, notwithstanding the season of the year, and the heat and agitation of travelling, I dare swear you have not taken one single dose of gentle, cooling physic, since that which I made you take at Bath. I hope you are now better, and in better hands, I mean in Dr. Hugo's, at Hanover; he is certainly a very skilful physician, and therefore I desire that you will inform him most minutely of your own case, from your first attack in Carniola to this last at Marburg; and not only follow his prescriptions exactly at present, but take his directions, with regard to the regimen that he would have you observe, to prevent the returns of this complaint; and, in case of any returns, the immediate applications, whether external or internal, that he would have you make use of. Consider, it is very well worth your while to submit at present to any course of medicine or diet, to any restraint or confinement, for a time, in order to get rid, once for all, of so trouble-

some and painful a distemper: the returns of which would equally break in upon your business or your pleasures. Notwithstanding all this, which is plain sense and reason, I much fear, that, as soon as ever you are got out of your present distress, you will take no preventive care, by a proper course of medicines and regimen; but, like most people of your age, think it impossible that you ever should be ill again. However, if you will not be wise for your own sake, I desire you will be so for mine, and most scrupulously observe Dr. Hugo's present and future directions.

Hanover, where I take it for granted you are, is at present the seat and centre of foreign negotiations; there are Ministers from almost every Court in Europe; and you have a fine opportunity of displaying with modesty, in conversation, your knowledge of the matters now in agitation. The chief I take to be the election of the King of the Romans, which, though I despair of, I heartily wish were brought about, for two reasons. The first is, that I think it may prevent a war upon the death of the present Emperor, who, though young and healthy, may possibly die, as young and healthy people often do; the other, is the very reason that makes some Powers oppose it, and others dislike it, who do not openly oppose it—I mean, that it may tend to make the Imperial dignity hereditary in the House of Austria, which I heartily wish, together with a very great increase of power in the Empire; till when, Germany will never be anything near a match for France. Cardinal Richelieu showed his superior abilities in nothing more than in thinking no pains nor expense too great to break the power of the House of Austria in the Empire. Ferdinand

had certainly made himself absolute, and the Empire consequently formidable to France, if that Cardinal had not piously adopted the Protestant cause, and put the Empire, by the treaty of Westphalia, in pretty much the same disjointed situation in which France itself was before Louis XI., when Princes of the Blood, at the head of provinces, and Dukes of Brittany, &c., always opposed, and often gave laws to the Crown. Nothing but making the Empire hereditary in the House of Austria can give it that strength and efficiency which I wish it had, for the sake of the balance of power. For, while the Princes of the Empire are so independent of the Emperor, so divided among themselves, and so open to the corruption of the best bidders, it is ridiculous to expect that Germany ever will, or can act as a compact and well-united body against France. But as this notion of mine would as little please *some of our friends*,* as many of our enemies, I would not advise you, though you should be of the same opinion, to declare yourself too freely so. Could the Elector Palatine be satisfied, which I confess will be difficult, considering the nature of his pretensions, the tenaciousness and haughtiness of the Court of Vienna, and our inability to do, as we have too often done, their work for them: I say, if the Elector Palatine could be engaged to give his vote, I should think it would be right to proceed to the election with a clear majority of five votes, and leave the King of Prussia and the Elector of Cologne to protest and remonstrate as much as ever they please. The former is too wise, and the latter too weak, in every respect,

* The King, as Elector of Hanover, and the Duke of Newcastle, as a skilful courtier.

to act in consequence of those protests. The distracted situation of France, with its ecclesiastical and Parliamentary quarrels—not to mention the illness, and possibly the death, of the Dauphin—will make the King of Prussia, who certainly is no Frenchman in his heart, very cautious how he acts as one. The Elector of Saxony will be influenced by the King of Poland, who must be determined by Russia, considering his views upon Poland, which, by the bye, I hope he will never obtain: I mean, as to making that Crown hereditary in his family. As for his son's having it by the precarious tenure of election, by which his father now holds it, *à la bonne heure*; but, should Poland have a good government under hereditary Kings, there would be a new devil raised in Europe, that I do not know who could lay. I am sure I would not raise him, though on my own side, for the present.

I do not know how I came to trouble my head so much about politics to-day, which has been so very free from them for some years. I suppose it was, because I knew that I was writing to the most consummate politician of this, and his age. If I err, you will set me right: *si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti*, &c.

I am excessively impatient for your next letter, which I expect by the first post from Hanover, to remove my anxiety, as I hope it will, not only with regard to your health, but likewise to *other things*. In the meantime, in the language of a pedant, but with the tenderness of a parent, *jubeo te bene valere*.

Lady Chesterfield makes you many compliments, and is much concerned at your indisposition.

London, September 19, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

SINCE you have been at Hanover, your correspondence has been both unfrequent and laconic. You made indeed one great effort in folio on the 18th, with a postscript of the 22d of August, N.S. and since that, *vous avez rattré in quarto*. On the 31st August, N.S. you give me no informations of what I want chiefly to know; which is, what Dr. Hugo (whom I charged you to consult) said of your asthmatic complaint, and what he prescribed you to prevent the returns of it; and also what is the company you keep there; who has been kind and civil to you, and who not.

You say that you go constantly to the parade; and you do very well, for though you are not of that trade, yet military matters make so great a part both of conversation and negotiation, that it is very proper not to be ignorant of them. I hope you mind more than the mere exercise of the troops you see, and that you inform yourself at the same time of the more material details; such as their pay, and the difference of it when in and out of quarters; what is furnished them by the country when in quarters; and what is allowed them of ammunition, bread, &c. when in the field; the number of men and officers in the several troops and companies, together with the non-commissioned officers, as *caporals*, *frey-caporals*, *anspessades*, serjeants, quarter-masters, &c.; the clothing, how frequent, how good, and how furnished; whether by the Colonel, as here in England, from what we call the *off-reckonings*, that is, deductions from the men's pay, or by Commissaries appointed by the Government for that purpose,

as in France and Holland. By these inquiries you will be able to talk military with military men, who in every country in Europe, except England, make at least half of all the best companies. Your attending the parades has also another good effect, which is, that it brings you of course acquainted with the officers, who, when of a certain rank and service, are generally very polite well-bred people, *et du bon ton*. They have commonly seen a great deal of the world and of Courts; and nothing else can form a gentleman, let people say what they will of sense and learning: with both which a man may contrive to be a very disagreeable companion. I dare say there are very few Captains of foot who are not much better company than ever Descartes or Sir Isaac Newton were. I honour and respect such superior geniuses; but I desire to converse with people of this world, who bring into company their share, at least, of cheerfulness, good-breeding, and knowledge of mankind. In common life, one much oftener wants small money and silver than gold. Give me a man who has ready cash about him for present expenses; sixpences, shillings, half-crowns, and crowns, which circulate easily: but a man who has only an ingot of gold about him is much above common purposes, and his riches are not handy nor convenient. Have as much gold as you please in one pocket, but take care always to keep change in the other; for you will much oftener have occasion for a shilling than for a guinea. In this the French must be allowed to excel all people in the world: they have *un certain entregent, un enjouement, une aimable légèreté dans la conversation, une politesse aisée et naturelle, qui paroît ne leur rien coûter*, which give society all

its charms. I am sorry to add, but it is too true, that the English and the Dutch are the farthest from this of all the people in the world; I do by no means except even the Swiss.

Though you did not think proper to inform me, I know from other hands that you were to go to the Gohr* with a Comte Schullemburg, for eight or ten days only, to see the reviews. I know also, that you had a blister upon your arm, which did you a great deal of good: I know too you have contracted a great friendship with Lord Essex,† and that you two were inseparable at Hanover. All these things I would rather have known from you than from others; and they are the sort of things that I am the most desirous of knowing, as they are more immediately relative to yourself.

I am very sorry for the Duchess of Newcastle's‡ illness, full as much upon your as upon her account, as it has hindered you from being so much known to the Duke as I could have wished: use and habit going a great way with him, as indeed they do with most people. I have known many people patronized, pushed up, and preferred by those who could have given no other reason for it than that they were used to them. We must never seek for motives by deep reasoning, but we must find them out by careful observation and attention: no matter what they should be; but the

* A hunting-seat of the Electors of Hanover.

† Anne Holles Capel, succeeded his father as Earl of Essex in 1743. He married Frances, eldest daughter of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

‡ Lady Harriet, eldest daughter and co-heir of Francis, Earl Godolphin, married in 1717, Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, and died without issue in 1776.

point is, what they are. Trace them up, step by step, from the character of the person. I have known *de par le monde*, as Brantôme says, great effects from causes too little ever to have been suspected. Some things must be known, and can never be guessed.

God knows where this letter will find you, or follow you; not at Hanover, I suppose; but wherever it does, may it find you in health and pleasure! Adieu!

London, September 22, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE day after the date of my last, I received your letter of the 8th. I approve extremely of your intended progress, and am very glad that you go to the Gohr with Comte Schullenburg. I would have you see everything with your own eyes, and hear everything with your own ears, for I know, by very long experience, that it is very unsafe to trust to other people's. Vanity and interest cause many misrepresentations, and folly causes many more. Few people have parts enough to relate exactly and judiciously; and those who have, for some reason or other, never fail to sink, or to add some circumstances.

The reception which you have met with at Hanover I look upon as an omen of your being well received everywhere else; for, to tell you the truth, it was the place that I distrusted the most in that particular. But there is a certain conduct, there are *certaines manières* that will, and must get the better of all difficulties of that kind: it is to acquire them that you still continue abroad, and go from Court to Court;

they are personal, local, and temporal; they are modes which vary, and owe their existence to accidents, whim, and humour; all the sense and reason in the world would never point them out; nothing but experience, observation, and what is called knowledge of the world, can possibly teach them. For example, it is respectful to bow to the King of England; it is disrespectful to bow to the King of France; it is the rule to courtesy to the Emperor; and the prostration of the whole body is required by Eastern Monarchs. These are established ceremonies, and must be complied with; but why they were established, I defy sense and reason to tell us. It is the same among all ranks, where certain customs are received, and must necessarily be complied with, though by no means the result of sense and reason. As for instance, the very absurd, though almost universal custom of drinking people's healths. Can there be anything in the world less relative to any other man's health than my drinking a glass of wine? Common sense, certainly, never pointed it out, but yet common sense tells me I must conform to it. Good sense bids one be civil, and endeavour to please, though nothing but experience and observation can teach one the means, properly adapted to time, place, and persons. This knowledge is the true object of a gentleman's travelling, if he travels as he ought to do. By frequenting good company in every country, he himself becomes of every country; he is no longer an Englishman, a Frenchman, or an Italian, but he is an European; he adopts, respectively, the best manners of every country, and is a Frenchman at Paris, an Italian at Rome, an Englishman at London.

This advantage, I must confess, very seldom accrues to my countrymen from their travelling, as they have neither the desire nor the means of getting into good company abroad: for, in the first place, they are confoundedly bashful, and in the next place, they either speak no foreign language at all, or, if they do, it is barbarously. You possess all the advantages that they want; you know the languages in perfection, and have constantly kept the best company in the places where you have been; so that you ought to be an European. Your canvas is solid and strong, your outlines are good; but remember, that you still want the beautiful colouring of Titian, and the delicate graceful touches of Guido. Now is your time to get them. There is, in all good company, a fashionable air, countenance, manner, and phraseology, which can only be acquired by being in good company, and very attentive to all that passes there. When you dine or sup at any well-bred man's house, observe carefully how he does the honours of his table to the different guests. Attend to the compliments of congratulation, or condolence, that you hear a well-bred man make to his superiors, to his equals, and to his inferiors; watch even his countenance and his tone of voice, for they all conspire in the main point of pleasing. There is a certain distinguishing diction of a man of fashion: he will not content himself with saying, like John Trott, to a new-married man, Sir, I wish you much joy; or to a man who has lost his son, Sir, I am sorry for your loss; and both with a countenance equally unmoved; but he will say in effect the same thing, in a more elegant and less trivial manner, and with a countenance adapted to the occasion. He will ad-

vance with warmth, vivacity, and a cheerful countenance to the new-married man, and embracing him, perhaps say to him, "If you do justice to my attachment to you, you will judge of the joy that I feel upon this occasion better than I can express it," &c. To the other in affliction he will advance slowly, with a grave composure of countenance, in a more deliberate manner, and with a lower voice, perhaps say, "I hope you do me the justice to be convinced that I feel whatever you feel, and shall ever be affected where you are concerned."

Your *aberd*, I must tell you, was too cold and uniform; I hope it is now mended. It should be respectfully open and cheerful with your superiors, warm and animated with your equals, hearty and free with your inferiors. There is a fashionable kind of *small talk*, that you should get; which, trilling as it is, is of use in mixed companies, and at table, especially in your foreign department; where it keeps off certain serious subjects, that might create disputes, or at least coldness for a time. Upon such occasions it is not amiss to know how to *parler cuisine*, and to be able to dissert upon the growth and flavour of wines. These, it is true, are very little things; but they are little things that occur very often, and therefore should be said *avec gentillesse et grace*. I am sure they must fall often in your way, pray take care to catch them. There is a certain language of conversation, a fashionable diction, of which every gentleman ought to be perfectly master, in whatever language he speaks. The French attend to it carefully, and with great reason; and their language, which is a language of phrases, helps them out exceedingly.

That delicacy of diction is characteristical of a man of fashion and good company.

I could write folios upon this subject, and not exhaust it, but I think, and hope, that to you I need not. You have heard and seen enough, to be convinced of the truth and importance of what I have been so long inculcating into you upon these points. How happy am I, and how happy are you, my dear child, that these Titian tints, and Guido graces, are all that you want to complete my hopes and your own character! But then, on the other hand, what a drawback would it be to that happiness, if you should never acquire them? I remember, when I was of your age, though I had not near so good an education as you have, or seen a quarter so much of the world, I observed those masterly touches, and irresistible graces in others, and saw the necessity of acquiring them myself; but then an awkward *mauvaise honte*, of which I had brought a great deal with me from Cambridge, made me ashamed to attempt it, especially if any of my countrymen and particular acquaintance were by. This was extremely absurd in me; for without attempting I could never succeed. But at last, insensibly, by frequenting a great deal of good company, and imitating those whom I saw that everybody liked, I formed myself *tant bien que mal*. For God's sake, let this last fine varnish, so necessary to give lustre to the whole piece, be the sole and single object now of your utmost attention: Berlin may contribute a great deal to it if you please; there are all the ingredients that compose it.

A propos of Berlin; while you are there, take care to seem ignorant of all political matters between the

two Courts; such as the affairs of Ostfrise, and Saxe Lawemburg, &c., and enter into no conversations upon those points; however, be as well at Court as you possibly can; live at it, and make one of it. Should General Keith* offer you civilities, do not decline them; but return them, however, without being *enfant de la maison chez lui*: say *des choses flatteuses* of the Royal Family, and especially of his Prussian Majesty, to those who are the most like to repeat them. In short, make yourself well there, without making yourself ill *somewhere else*.† Make compliments from me to Algarotti, and converse with him in Italian.

I go next week to the Bath, for a deafness, which I have been plagued with these four or five months; and which, I am assured, that pumping my head will remove. This deafness, I own, has tried my patience; as it has cut me off from society, at an age when I had no pleasures but those left. In the meantime, I have, by reading and writing, made my eyes supply the defect of my ears. Madame Hop, I suppose, entertained both yours alike; however, I am very glad you were well with her; for she is a good *Prôncuse*, and puffs are very useful to a young fellow at his entrance into the world.

If you should meet with Lord Pembroke again, anywhere, make him many compliments from me;

* James Keith, brother of the exiled Earl Marischal of Scotland. He afterwards attained the rank of Field-Marshal in the Prussian service, and was killed at the battle of Hochkirchen, October 14, 1758.

† Great coldness, nay even aversion, prevailed at this period, between the two monarchs, George and Frederick the Second. Only a year afterwards (September 21, 1753) we find the Duke of Newcastle write to Lord Hardwicke as follows: "The King of Prussia is now "avowedly the principal, if not the sole support of the Pretender and "of the Jacobite cause."

and tell him, I should have written to him, but that I knew how troublesome an old correspondent must be to a young one. He is much commended in the accounts from Hanover.*

You will stay at Berlin just as long as you like it, and no longer; and from thence you are absolutely master of your own motions, either to the Hague, or to Brussels; but I think you had better go to the Hague first, because that from thence Brussels will be in your way to Calais, which is a much better passage to England, than from Helvoetsluys. The two Courts of the Hague and Brussels are worth your seeing; and you will see them both to advantage, by means of Colonel Yorke and Dayrolles. Adieu. Here is enough for some time.

London, September 26, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

As you chiefly employ, or rather wholly engross my thoughts, I see every day, with increasing pleasure, the fair prospect which you have before you. I had two views in your education; they draw nearer and nearer, and I have now very little reason to distrust your answering them fully. Those two were, Parliamentary and foreign affairs. In consequence of those views, I took care first, to give you a sufficient stock of sound learning, and next, an early knowledge of the world.

* Henry Herbert succeeded in 1751 his father as Earl of Pembroke. The favourable accounts from Hanover which Lord Chesterfield mentions, were far from being confirmed by his subsequent career, as may be seen more fully in Horace Walpole's Letters. (To Gen. Montague, February 22, 1762, &c.)

Without making a figure in Parliament, no man can make any in this country; and eloquence alone enables a man to make a figure in Parliament, unless it be a very mean and contemptible one, which those make there who silently vote, and who do *pedibus ire in sententiam*. Foreign affairs, when skilfully managed, and supported by a Parliamentary reputation, lead to whatever is most considerable in this country. You have the languages necessary for that purpose, with a sufficient fund of historical and treaty knowledge; that is to say, you have the matter ready, and only want the manner. Your objects being thus fixed, I recommend to you to have them constantly in your thoughts, and to direct your reading, your actions, and your words, to those views. Most people think only *ex re natâ*, and few *ex professo*: I would have you do both, but begin with the latter. I explain myself: Lay down certain principles, and reason and act consequentially from them. As for example: say to yourself, I will make a figure in Parliament, and in order to do that, I must not only speak, but speak very well. Speaking mere common sense will by no means do; and I must speak not only correctly but elegantly; and not only elegantly but eloquently. In order to this, I will first take pains to get an habitual, but unaffected purity, correctness, and elegance of style in my common conversation; I will seek for the best words, and take care to reject improper, inexpressive, and vulgar ones. I will read the greatest masters of oratory, both ancient and modern, and I will read them singly in that view. I will study Demosthenes and Cicero, not to discover an old Athenian or Roman custom, nor to puzzle myself with the value of

talents, mines, drachms, and sesterces, like the learned blockheads in *us*; but to observe their choice of words, their harmony of diction, their method, their distribution, their *exordia*, to engage the favour and attention of their audience; and their perorations, to enforce what they have said, and to leave a strong impression upon the passions. Nor will I be pedant enough to neglect the moderns; for I will likewise study Atterbury, Dryden, Pope, and Bolingbroke; nay, I will read everything that I do read, in that intention, and never cease improving and refining my style upon the best models, till at last I become a model of eloquence myself, which, by care, it is in every man's power to be. If you set out upon this principle, and keep it constantly in your mind, every company you go into, and every book you read, will contribute to your improvement, either by showing you what to imitate, or what to avoid. Are you to give an account of anything to a mixed company? or are you to endeavour to persuade either man or woman? This principle, fixed in your mind, will make you carefully attend to the choice of your words, and to the clearness and harmony of your diction.

So much for your Parliamentary object; now to the foreign one.

Lay down first those principles which are absolutely necessary to form a skilful and successful negotiation, and form yourself accordingly. What are they? first, the clear historical knowledge of past transactions of that kind. That you have pretty well already, and will have daily more and more; for, in consequence of that principle, you will read history, memoirs, anecdotes, &c., in that view chiefly. The other

necessary talents for negotiation are; the great art of pleasing, and engaging the affection and confidence, not only of those with whom you are to co-operate, but even of those whom you are to oppose: to conceal your own thoughts and views, and to discover other people's: to engage other people's confidence, by a seeming cheerful frankness and openness, without going a step too far: to get the personal favour of the King, Prince, Ministers, or Mistress, of the Court to which you are sent: to gain the absolute command over your temper and your countenance, that no heat may provoke you to say, nor no change of countenance betray, what should be a secret. To familiarize and domesticate yourself in the houses of the most considerable people of the place, so as to be received there rather as a friend to the family, than as a foreigner. Having these principles constantly in your thoughts, everything you do and everything you say, will some way or other tend to your main view: and common conversation will gradually fit you for it. You will get an habit of checking any rising heat; you will be upon your guard against any indiscreet expression; you will by degrees get the command of your countenance, so as not to change it upon any the most sudden accident: and you will, above all things, labour to acquire the great art of pleasing, without which nothing is to be done. Company is, in truth, a constant state of negotiation; and, if you attend to it in that view, will qualify you for any. By the same means that you make a friend, guard against an enemy, or gain a mistress, you will make an advantageous treaty, baffle those who counteract you, and gain the Court you are sent to. Make this use of all

the company you keep, and your very pleasures will make you a successful negociator. Please all who are worth pleasing; offend none. Keep your own secret, and get out other people's. Keep your own temper, and artfully warm other people's. Counterwork your rivals with diligence and dexterity, but at the same time with the utmost personal civility to them: and be firm without heat. Messieurs D'Avaux and Servien* did no more than this. I must make one observation, in confirmation of this assertion; which is, that the most eminent negociators have always been the politest and best-bred men in company; even what the women call the *prettiest men*. For God's sake, never lose view of these two your capital objects: bend everything to them, try everything by their rules, and calculate everything for their purposes. What is peculiar to these two objects, is, that they require nothing but what one's own vanity, interest, and pleasure, would make one do independently of them. If a man were never to be in business, and always to lead a private life, would he not desire to please and to persuade? so that in your two destinations, your fortune and figure luckily conspire with your vanity and your pleasures. Nay more; a foreign minister, I will maintain it, can never be a good man of business, if he is not an agreeable man of pleasure too. Half his business is done by the help of his pleasures: his views are carried on, and perhaps best, and most unsuspectedly, at balls, suppers, assemblies and parties of pleasure; by intrigues with women, and connections

* Abel Servien, born at Grenoble in 1593, highly distinguished himself in several negotiations, and was during three years the colleague of Comte D'Avaux at the Congress of Munster.

insensibly formed with men, at those unguarded hours of amusement.

These objects now draw very near you, and you have no time to lose in preparing yourself to meet them. You will be in Parliament almost as soon as your age will allow, and I believe you will have a foreign department still sooner, and that will be earlier than ever anybody had one. If you set out well at one-and-twenty, what may you not reasonably hope to be at one-and-forty? All that I could wish you. Adieu!

MY DEAR FRIEND,

London, September 29, 1752.

THERE is nothing so necessary, but at the same time there is nothing more difficult (I know it by experience) for you young fellows, than to know how to behave yourselves prudently towards those whom you do not like. Your passions are warm, and your heads are light; you hate all those who oppose your views, either of ambition or love; and a rival, in either, is almost a synonymous term for an enemy. Whenever you meet such a man, you are awkwardly cold to him, at best; but often rude, and always desirous to give him some indirect slap. This is unreasonable; for one man has as good a right to pursue an employment, or a mistress, as another; but it is, into the bargain, extremely imprudent; because you commonly defeat your own purpose by it, and while you are contending with each other, a third often prevails. I grant you, that the situation is irksome; a man cannot help thinking as he thinks, nor feeling what he feels; and it is a very tender and sore point to be thwarted and counterworked in one's pursuits at Court, or with a

mistress: but prudence and abilities must check the effects, though they cannot remove the cause. Both the pretenders make themselves disagreeable to their mistress, when they spoil the company by their pouting, or their sparring; whereas, if one of them has command enough over himself (whatever he may feel inwardly) to be cheerful, gay, and easily and unaffectedly civil to the other, as if there were no manner of competition between them, the lady will certainly like him the best, and his rival will be ten times more humbled and discouraged; for he will look upon such a behaviour as a proof of the triumph and security of his rival; he will grow outrageous with the lady, and the warmth of his reproaches will probably bring on a quarrel between them. It is the same in business; where he who can command his temper and his countenance the best, will always have an infinite advantage over the other. This is what the French call *un procédé honnête et galant*, to pique yourself upon showing particular civilities to a man, to whom lesser minds would in the same case show dislike, or perhaps rudeness. I will give you an instance of this in my own case; and pray remember it, whenever you come to be, as I hope you will, in a like situation.

When I went to the Hague, in 1744,* it was to engage the Dutch to come roundly into the war, and to stipulate their quotas of troops, &c.; your acquaintance, the Abbé de la Ville, was there on the part of France, to endeavour to hinder them from coming

* According to the present style of computation, Lord Chesterfield should have said 1745. But until the passing of his own Act, in 1751, the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Legal year was reckoned as commencing only on the 25th of March. See Sir Harris Nicolas's valuable *Chronology of History*, p. 38, ed. 1838.

into the war at all. I was informed, and very sorry to hear it, that he had abilities, temper, and industry. We could not visit, our two masters being at war; but the first time I met him at a third place, I got somebody to present me to him; and I told him, that though we were to be national enemies, I flattered myself we might be, however, personal friends; with a good deal more of the same kind, which he returned in full as polite a manner. Two days afterwards I went, early in the morning, to solicit the Deputies of Amsterdam, where I found l'Abbé de la Ville, who had been beforehand with me; upon which I addressed myself to the Deputies, and said, smilingly, *Je suis bien fâché, Messieurs, de trouver mon ennemi avec vous; je le connois déjà assez pour le craindre: la partie n'est pas égale, mais je me fie à vos propres intérêts contre les talens de mon ennemi; et au moins si je n'ai pas eu le premier mot j'aurai le dernier aujourd'hui.* They smiled: the Abbé was pleased with the compliment, and the manner of it, stayed about a quarter of an hour, and then left me to my Deputies, with whom I continued upon the same tone, though in a very serious manner, and told them that I was only come to state their own true interests to them, plainly and simply, without any of those arts, which it was very necessary for my friend to make use of to deceive them. I carried my point, and continued my *procédé* with the Abbé; and by this easy and polite commerce with him, at third places, I often found means to fish out from him whereabouts he was.

Remember, there are but two *procédés* in the world for a gentleman and a man of parts: either extreme politeness or knocking down. If a man, notoriously

and designedly insults and affronts you, knock him down; but if he only injures you, your best revenge is to be extremely civil to him in your outward behaviour, though at the same time you counterwork him, and return him the compliment, perhaps with interest. This is not perfidy nor dissimulation; it would be so, if you were at the same time, to make professions of esteem and friendship to this man, which I by no means recommend, but, on the contrary, abhor. All acts of civility are, by common consent, understood to be no more than a conformity to custom, for the quiet and conveniency of society, the *agrémens* of which are not to be disturbed by private dislikes and jealousies. Only women and little minds pout and spar for the entertainment of the company, that always laughs at, and never pities them. For my own part, though I would by no means give up any point to a competitor, yet I would pique myself upon showing him rather more civility than to another man. In the first place, this *procédé* infallibly makes all *les rieurs* of your side, which is a considerable party; and in the next place, it certainly pleases the object of the competition, be it either man or woman; who never fail to say, upon such an occasion, that *they must own you have behaved yourself very handsomely in the whole affair*. The world judges from the appearances of things, and not from the reality, which few are able, and still fewer are inclined, to fathom; and a man who will take care always to be in the right in those things, may afford to be sometimes a little in the wrong in more essential ones; there is a willingness, a desire to excuse him. With nine people in ten, good-breeding passes for good-nature, and they take

attentions for good offices. At Courts there will be always coldnesses, dislikes, jealousies, and hatred, the harvest being but small in proportion to the number of labourers; but then, as they arise often, they die soon, unless they are perpetuated by the manner in which they have been carried on, more than by the matter which occasioned them. The turns and vicissitudes of Courts frequently make friends of enemies and enemies of friends: you must labour, therefore, to acquire that great and uncommon talent, of hating with good-breeding, and loving with prudence; to make no quarrel irreconcilable, by silly and unnecessary indications of anger; and no friendship dangerous in case it breaks, by a wanton, indiscreet, and unreserved confidence.

Few (especially young) people know how to love, or how to hate; their love is an unbounded weakness, fatal to the person they love; their hate is a hot, rash, and imprudent violence, always fatal to themselves. Nineteen fathers in twenty, and every mother who had loved you half as well as I do, would have ruined you; whereas I always made you feel the weight of my authority, that you might one day know the force of my love. Now, I both hope and believe, my advice will have the same weight with you from choice, that my authority had from necessity. My advice is just eight-and-thirty years older than your own, and consequently, I believe you think, rather better. As for your tender and pleasurable passions, manage them yourself; but let me have the direction of all the others. Your ambition, your figure, and your fortune, will, for some time at least, be rather safer in my keeping than in your own. Adieu.

Bath, October 4, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I CONSIDER you now as at the Court of Augustus,* where, if ever the desire of pleasing animated you, it must make you exert all the means of doing it. You will see there, full as well, I dare say, as Horace did at Rome, how States are defended by arms, adorned by manners, and improved by laws. Nay, you have an Horace there, as well as an Augustus; I need not name Voltaire, *qui nil molitur inepte*, as Horace himself said of another poet. I have lately read over all his works that are published, though I had read them more than once before. I was induced to this by his *Siècle de Louis XIV.* which I have yet read but four times. In reading over all his works, with more attention I suppose than before, my former admiration of him is, I own, turned into astonishment. There is no one kind of writing in which he has not excelled. You are so severe a Classic, that I question whether you will allow me to call his *Henriade* an Epic poem, for want of the proper number of gods, devils, witches, and other absurdities, requisite for the machinery: which machinery is (it seems) necessary to constitute the *Épopée*. But whether you do or not, I will declare (though possibly to my own shame) that I never read any Epic poem with near so much pleasure. I am grown old, and have possibly lost a great deal of that fire which formerly made me love fire in others at any rate, and however attended with smoke: but now I must have all sense, and cannot for the sake of five righteous lines forgive a thousand absurd ones.

In this disposition of mind, judge whether I can

* The Court of Frederick the Second.

read all Homer through *tout de suite*. I admire his beauties; but, to tell you the truth, when he slumbers I sleep. Virgil, I confess, is all sense, and therefore I like him better than his model: but he is often languid, especially in his five or six last books, during which I am obliged to take a good deal of snuff. Besides, I profess myself an ally of Turnus's against the pious Æneas, who, like many *soi disant* pious people, does the most flagrant injustice and violence, in order to execute what they impudently call the will of Heaven. But what will you say, when I tell you truly, that I cannot possibly read our countryman, Milton, through? I acknowledge him to have some most sublime passages, some prodigious flashes of light; but then you must acknowledge, that light is often followed by *darkness visible*, to use his own expression. Besides, not having the honour to be acquainted with any of the parties in his poem, except the man and the woman, the characters and speeches of a dozen or two of angels, and of as many devils, are as much above my reach as my entertainment. Keep this secret for me: for if it should be known, I should be abused by every tasteless pedant, and every solid divine, in England.

Whatever I have said to the disadvantage of these three Poems, holds much stronger against Tasso's Gierusalemme: it is true, he has very fine and glaring rays of poetry; but then they are only meteors, they dazzle, then disappear, and are succeeded by false thoughts, poor *concetti*, and absurd impossibilities: witness the Fish and the Parrot; extravagances unworthy of an heroic poem, and would much better have become Ariosto, who professes *le coglionerie*.

I have never read the *Lusiad* of Camoens, except in a prose translation, consequently I have never read it at all, so shall say nothing of it; but the *Henriade* is all sense from the beginning to the end, often adorned by the justest and liveliest reflections, the most beautiful descriptions, the noblest images, and the sublimest sentiments; not to mention the harmony of the verse, in which Voltaire undoubtedly exceeds all the French poets: should you insist upon an exception in favour of Racine, I must insist, on my part, that he at least equals him. What hero ever interested more than Henry IV., who, according to the rules of Epic poetry, carries on one great and long action, and succeeds in it at last? What description ever excited more horror than those, first of the massacre, and then of the famine, at Paris? Was love ever painted with more truth and *morbidezza* than in the ninth book? Not better, in my mind, even in the fourth of Virgil. Upon the whole, with all your classical rigour, if you will but suppose *St. Louis* a god, a devil, or a witch, and that he appears in person and not in a dream, the *Henriade* will be an Epic poem, according to the strictest statute laws of the *Epopée*; but in my court of equity it is one as it is.

I could expatiate as much upon all his different works, but that I should exceed the bounds of a letter, and run into a dissertation. How delightful is his History of that Northern brute, the King of Sweden!* for I cannot call him a man; and I should be sorry to have him pass for a hero, out of regard to those true heroes, such as Julius Cæsar, Titus, Trajan, and the

* Charles the Twelfth. Voltaire's Life of that monarch first appeared in 1731.

present King of Prussia ; who cultivated and encouraged arts and sciences ; whose animal courage was accompanied by the tender and social sentiments of humanity ; and who had more pleasure in improving than in destroying their fellow creatures. What can be more touching or more interesting, what more nobly thought or more happily expressed, than all his dramatic pieces ? What can be more clear and rational than all his philosophical letters ? and whatever was so graceful and gentle as all his little poetical trifles ? You are fortunately *à portée* of verifying, by your knowledge of the man, all that I have said of his works.

Monsieur de Maupertuis (whom I hope you will get acquainted with) is, what one rarely meets with, deep in philosophy and mathematics, and yet *honnête et aimable homme* ; Algarotti is young Fontenelle. Such men must necessarily give you the desire of pleasing them ; and if you can frequent them, their acquaintance will furnish you the means of pleasing everybody else.

A propos of pleasing ; your pleasing Mrs. Fitzgerald is expected here in two or three days ; I will do all that I can for you with her. I think you carried on the romance to the third or fourth volume ; I will continue it to the eleventh ; but as to the twelfth and last, you must come and conclude it yourself. *Non sum qualis eram.*

Good-night to you, child ! for I am going to bed, just at the hour at which I suppose you are beginning to live, at Berlin.

Bath, November 16, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

VANITY, or to call it by a gentler name, the desire of admiration and applause, is perhaps the most universal principle of human actions. I do not say that it is the best; and I will own, that it is sometimes the cause of both foolish and criminal effects. But it is so much oftener the principle of right things, that, though they ought to have a better, yet, considering human nature, that principle is to be encouraged and cherished, in consideration of its effects. Where that desire is wanting, we are apt to be indifferent, listless, indolent, and inert; we do not exert our powers, and we appear to be as much below ourselves as the vainest man living can desire to appear above what he really is.

As I have made you my confessor, and do not scruple to confess even my weaknesses to you, I will fairly own that I had that vanity, that weakness, if it be one, to a prodigious degree; and what is more, I confess it without repentance: nay, I am glad I had it; since, if I have had the good fortune to please in the world, it is to that powerful and active principle that I owe it. I began the world, not with a bare desire, but with an insatiable thirst, a rage of popularity, applause, and admiration. If this made me do some silly things, on one hand, it made me, on the other hand, do almost all the right things that I did: it made me attentive and civil to the women I disliked, and to the men I despised, in hopes of the applause of both; though I neither desired, nor would I have accepted, the favours of the one, nor the friendship of the other. I always dressed, looked, and talked my

best, and, I own, was overjoyed whenever I perceived that by all three, or by any one of them, the company was pleased with me. To men, I talked whatever I thought would give them the best opinion of my parts and learning, and to women, what I was sure would please them — flattery, gallantry, and love. And, moreover, I will own to you, under the secrecy of confession, that my vanity has very often made me take great pains to make many a woman in love with me, if I could, for whose person I would not have given a pinch of snuff. In company with men, I always endeavoured to out-shine, or, at least if possible, to equal, the most shining man in it. This desire elicited whatever powers I had to gratify it; and where I could not perhaps shine in the first, enabled me, at least, to shine in a second or third sphere. By these means I soon grew in fashion; and when a man is once in fashion, all he does is right. It was infinite pleasure to me, to find my own fashion and popularity. I was sent for to all parties of pleasure, both of men or women, where, in some measure, I gave the tone. This gave me the reputation of having had some women of condition; and that reputation, whether true or false, really got me others. With the men I was a Proteus, and assumed every shape in order to please them all: among the gay I was the gayest, among the grave the gravest; and I never omitted the least attentions of good-breeding, or the least offices of friendship, that could either please, or attach them to me, and accordingly I was soon connected with all the men of any fashion or figure in town.

To this principle of vanity, which philosophers call a mean one, and which I do not, I owe great part of

the figure which I have made in life. I wish you had as much, but I fear you have too little of it; and you seem to have a degree of laziness and listlessness about you, that makes you indifferent as to general applause. This is not in character at your age, and would be barely pardonable in an elderly and philosophical man. It is a vulgar, ordinary saying, but it is a very true one, that one should always put the best foot foremost. One should please, shine, and dazzle, wherever it is possible. At Paris, I am sure you must observe *que chacun se fait valoir autant qu'il est possible*; and La Bruyère observes, very justly, *qu'on ne vaut dans ce monde que ce qu'on veut valoir*: wherever applause is in question, you will never see a French man, nor woman, remiss or negligent. Observe the eternal attentions and politeness that all people have there for one another. *Ce n'est pas pour leurs beaux yeux, au moins*. No, but for their own sakes—for commendations and applause. Let me then recommend this principle of vanity to you; act upon it *meo periculo*; I promise you it will turn to your account. Practise all the arts that ever Coquette did, to please; be alert and indefatigable in making every man admire, and every woman in love with you. I can tell you, too, that nothing will carry you higher in the world.

I have had no letter from you since your arrival at Paris, though you must have been long enough there to have written me two or three. In about ten or twelve days I propose leaving this place, and going to London. I have found considerable benefit by my stay here, but not all that I want. Make my compliments to Lord Albemarle.

Bath, November 28, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

SINCE my last to you, I have read Madame Maintenon's Letters;* I am sure they are genuine, and they both entertained and informed me. They have brought me acquainted with the character of that able and artful lady; whom I am convinced that I now know much better than her *directeur* the Abbé de Fenelon (afterwards Archbishop of Cambray) did, when he wrote her the 185th letter; and I know him the better too for that letter. The Abbé, though brimful of the divine love, had a great mind to be first Minister and Cardinal, in order, *no doubt*, to have an opportunity of doing the more good. His being *directeur* at that time to Madame Maintenon, seemed to be a good step towards those views. She put herself upon him for a saint, and he was weak enough to believe it; he, on the other hand, would have put himself upon her for a saint too, which I dare say she did not believe; but both of them knew that it was necessary for them to appear saints to Louis XIV, who they were very sure was a bigot. It is to be presumed, nay indeed, it is plain by that 185th letter, that Madame Maintenon had hinted to her *directeur* some scruples of conscience, with relation to her commerce with the King; and which I humbly apprehend to have been only some scruples of prudence, at once to flatter the bigot character and increase the desires of the King. The pious Abbé, frightened out of his wits, lest the King should impute to the *directeur* any scruples or difficulties which he might meet with on the part of the lady,

* The letters of Madame de Maintenon, as collected by La Beaumelle, were first published at Nancy in 1752. Another and far more complete edition followed in 1756.

writes her the above-mentioned letter; in which he not only bids her not teaze the King by advice and exhortations, but to have the utmost submission to his will; and, that she might not mistake the nature of that submission, he tells her it is the same that Sarah had for Abraham; to which submission Isaac perhaps was owing. No bawd could have written a more seducing letter to an innocent country girl than the *directeur* did to his *penitente*, who, I dare say, had no occasion for his good advice. Those who would justify the good *directeur*, alias the pimp, in this affair, must not attempt to do it by saying that the King and Madame Maintenon were at that time privately married; that the *directeur* knew it; and that this was the meaning of his *enigme*. That is absolutely impossible; for that private marriage must have removed all scruples between the parties; nay, could not have been contracted upon any other principle, since it was kept private, and consequently prevented no public scandal. It is therefore extremely evident, that Madame Maintenon could not be married to the King at the time when she scrupled granting, and when the *directeur* advised her to grant, those favours with so much submission granted to Abraham: and what the *directeur* is pleased to call *le mystère de Dieu*, was most evidently a state of concubinage. The letters are very well worth your reading; they throw light upon many things of those times.

I have just received a letter from Sir William Stanhope, from Lyons; in which he tells me that he saw you at Paris, that he thinks you a little grown, but that you do not make the most of it, for that you stoop still; *d'ailleurs* his letter was a panegyric of you.

The young Comte de Schullemburg, the Chambellan whom you knew at Hanover, is come over with the King, *et fait aussi vos éloges*.

Though, as I told you in my last, I have done buying pictures, by way of *virtù*, yet there are some portraits of remarkable people that would tempt me. For instance, if you could by chance pick up at Paris, at a reasonable price and undoubted originals (whether heads, half-lengths, or whole-lengths, no matter) of Cardinals Richelieu, Mazarin, and Retz, Monsieur de Turenne, le grand Prince de Condé, Mesdames de Montespan, de Fontanges, de Montbazon, de Sévigné, de Maintenon, de Chevreuse, de Longueville, d'Olonne, &c. I should be tempted to purchase them. I am sensible that they can only be met with, by great accident, at family sales and auctions, so I only mention the affair to you eventually.

I do not understand, or else I do not remember, what affair you mean in your last letter; which you think will come to nothing, and for which you say I had once a mind that you should take the road again. Explain it to me.

I shall go to town in four or five days, and carry back with me a little more hearing than I brought: but yet not half enough for common use. One wants ready pocket money much oftener than one wants great sums; and, to use a very odd expression, I want to hear at sight. I love every-day senses, every-day wit and entertainment; a man who is only good on holidays is good for very little. Adieu!

London, New-Year's-Day, 1753.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It is now above a fortnight since I have received a letter from you. I hope, however, that you are well, but engrossed by the business of Lord Albemarle's *bureau* in the mornings, and by business of a genteeler nature in the evenings; for I willingly give up my own satisfaction to your improvement, either in business or manners.

Here have been lately imported from Paris two gentlemen, who, I find, were much acquainted with you there; Comte Sinzendorf, and Monsieur Clairaut, the Academician.* The former is a very pretty man, well-bred, and with a great deal of useful knowledge; for those two things are very consistent. I examined him about you, thinking him a competent judge. He told me, *que vous parliez l'Allemand comme un Allemand; que vous sçaviez le droit public de l'empire parfaitement bien; que vous aviez le goût sur, et des connoissances fort étendues*. I told him, that I knew all this very well, but that I wanted to know whether you had *l'air, les manières, les attentions, enfin le brillant d'un honnête homme*: his answer was, *Mais oui en vérité, c'est fort bien*. This, you see, is but cold, in comparison of what I do wish, and of what you ought to wish. Your friend Clairaut interposed, and said, *Mais je vous assure qu'il est fort poli*; to which I answered, *Je le crois bien, vis-a-vis des Lapons vos amis; je vous recuse pour juge, jusqu'à ce que vous ayez été déçu par eux, au moins dix ans, parmi*

* Alexis Claude Clairaut, born at Paris in 1713, obtained a high reputation by his mathematical attainments. He was one of the Academicians who travelled to Lapland in order to measure a degree of the meridian, and thus determine the figure of the earth.

les honnêtes gens. These testimonies in your favour are such as perhaps you are satisfied with, and think sufficient; but I am not: they are only the cold depositions of disinterested and unconcerned witnesses, upon a strict examination. When upon a trial, a man calls witnesses to his character, and those witnesses only say, that they never heard, nor do not know any ill of him; it intimates at best a neutral and insignificant, though innocent character. Now I want, and you ought to endeavour, that *les agrémens, les graces, les attentions, &c.* should be a distinguishing part of your character, and specified of you by people unasked. I wish to hear people say of you *ah qu'il est aimable! Quelles manières, quelles graces, quel art de plaire!* Nature, thank God, has given you all the powers necessary; and if she has not yet, I hope in God she will give you the will of exerting them.

I have lately read with great pleasure, Voltaire's two little Histories of *les Croisades*, and *l'Esprit humain*; which I recommend to your perusal, if you have not already read them. They are bound up with a most poor performance, called *Micromégas*, which is said to be Voltaire's too; but I cannot believe it, it is so very unworthy of him:* it consists only of thoughts stolen from Swift, but miserably mangled and disfigured. But his History of the *Croisades* shows, in a very short and strong light, the most immoral and wicked scheme, that was ever contrived by knaves, and executed by madmen and fools, against humanity. There is a strange, but never-

* It was, however, written by Voltaire, and is comprised in all complete editions of his works. The idea is derived from Gulliver's Travels.

failing relation, between honest madmen and skilful knaves; and wherever one meets with collected numbers of the former, one may be very sure that they are secretly directed by the latter. The Popes, who have generally been both the ablest and the greatest knaves in Europe, wanted all the power and money of the East; for they had all that was in Europe already. The times and the minds favoured their design, for they were dark and uninformed; and Peter the Hermit, at once a knave and a madman, was a fine Papal tool for so wild and wicked an undertaking. I wish we had good histories of every part of Europe, and indeed of the world, written upon the plan of Voltaire's *de l'esprit humain*; for I own I am provoked at the contempt which most historians show for humanity in general; one would think by them, that the whole human species consisted but of about a hundred and fifty people, called and dignified, (commonly very undeservedly too) by the titles of Emperors, Kings, Popes, Generals, and Ministers.

I have never seen in any of the newspapers, any mention of the affairs of the Cevennes,* or Grenoble, which you gave me an account of some time ago; and the Duke de Mirepoix† pretends, at least, to know nothing of either. Were they false reports, or does

* Lord Chesterfield here alludes to the renewal of persecution against the Protestants in the Cevennes. In 1752, François Bénézet, one of their preachers, was executed at Montpellier, and died, says Sismondi, *chantant le psaume 51, et offrant sa vie à Dieu avec un courage serene*. The same historian adds, that whenever prisoners were taken from this poor "hill-folk," *les hommes furent condamnés aux galères à vie; les femmes à la prison perpétuelle . . . maintesfois les soldats tirèrent sur ces troupes désarmées et fugitives, et le champ de la prière fut souvent couvert de morts ou de blessés*. (Hist. des Français, vol. xxix. p. 46.)

† The French Ambassador in London.

the French Court choose to stifle them? I hope that they are both true, because I am very willing that the cares of the French government should be employed and confined to themselves.

Your friend, the Electress Palatine,* has sent me six wild boars' heads, and other *pièces de sa chasse*, in return for the fans, which she approved of extremely. This present was signified to me by one Mr. Harold, who wrote me a letter in a very indifferent English; I suppose he is a Dane who has been in England.

Mr. Harte came to town yesterday, and dined with me to-day. We talked you over; and I can assure you, that though a parson, and no member *du beau monde*, he thinks all the most shining accomplishments of it full as necessary for you as I do. His expression was, *that is all that he wants; but if he wants that, considering his situation and destination, he might as well want everything else.*

This is the day when people reciprocally offer and receive the kindest and warmest wishes, though in general without meaning them on one side, or believing them on the other. They are formed by the head, in compliance with custom, though disavowed by the heart, in consequence of nature. His wishes upon this occasion are the best, that are the best turned; you do not, I am sure, doubt the truth of mine, and therefore I will express them with a Quaker-like simplicity. May this new year be a very new one indeed to you; may you put off the old, and put on the new man! but I mean the outward, not the inward

* Mary Elizabeth, born 1721, and consort of Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine. Or, perhaps, the Dowager Electress, Eleonora Philippina of Hesse Rheinfeld.

man. With this alteration, I might justly sum up all my wishes for you in these words,

Dil tibi dent annos, de te nam cætera sumes !

This minute I receive your letter of the 26th past, which gives me a very disagreeable reason for your late silence. By the symptoms which you mention of your illness, I both hope and believe that it was wholly owing to your own want of care. You are rather inclined to be fat, you have naturally a good stomach, and you eat at the best tables ; which must of course make you plethoric : and, upon my word, you will be very subject to these accidents, if you will not from time to time, when you find yourself full, heated, or your head aching, take some little easy preventive purge, that would not confine you ; such as chewing a little rhubarb when you go to bed at night, or some senna tea in the morning. You do very well to live extremely low, for some time ; and I could wish, though I do not expect it, that you would take one gentle vomit ; for those giddinesses, and swimings in the head, always proceed from some foulness of the stomach. However, upon the whole, I am very glad that your old complaint has not mixed itself with this, which, I am fully convinced, arises singly from your own negligence. Adieu !

I am sorry for Monsieur Kurzcé,* upon his sister's account.

* A brother, probably, of Madame de Mouconscil.

London, January 15, 1753.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I NEVER think my time so well employed, as when I think it employed to your advantage. You have long had the greatest share of it; you now engross it. The moment is now decisive; the piece is going to be exhibited to the public; the mere outlines, and the general colouring, are not sufficient to attract the eyes, and to secure applause; but the last finishing, artful, and delicate strokes, are necessary. Skilful judges will discern, and acknowledge their merit; the ignorant will, without knowing why, feel their power. In that view, I have thrown together, for your use, the enclosed maxims; or, to speak more properly, observations on men and things; for I have no merit as to the invention; I am no system-monger; and, instead of giving way to my imagination, I have only consulted my memory; and my conclusions are all drawn from facts, not from fancy. Most maxim-mongers have preferred the prettiness to the justness of a thought, and the turn to the truth; but I have refused myself to everything that my own experience did not justify and confirm. I wish you would consider them seriously, and separately, and recur to them again *pro re nata* in similar cases. Young men are as apt to think themselves wise enough, as drunken men are to think themselves sober enough. They look upon spirit to be a much better thing than experience; which they call coldness. They are but half mistaken; for though spirit, without experience, is dangerous, experience, without spirit, is languid and defective. Their union, which is very rare, is perfection: you may join them, if you please; for all

my experience is at your service; and I do not desire one grain of your spirit in return. Use them both; and let them reciprocally animate and check each other. I mean here, by the spirit of youth, only the vivacity and presumption of youth; which hinder them from seeing the difficulties, or dangers of an undertaking; but I do not mean, what the silly vulgar call spirit, by which they are captious, jealous of their rank, suspicious of being undervalued, and tart (as they call it) in their repartees, upon the slightest occasions. This is an evil and a very silly spirit, which should be driven out, and transferred to an herd of swine. This is not the spirit of a man of fashion, who has kept good company. People of an ordinary, low education, when they happen to fall into good company, imagine themselves the only object of its attention; if the company whispers, it is, to be sure, concerning them; if they laugh, it is at them, and if anything ambiguous, that by the most forced interpretation can be applied to them, happens to be said, they are convinced that it was meant at them; upon which they grow out of countenance first, and then angry. This mistake is very well ridiculed in the "Stratagem,"* where Scrub says, "*I am sure they talked of me, for they laughed consumedly.*" A well-bred man seldom thinks, but never seems to think, himself slighted, undervalued, or laughed at in company, unless where it is so plainly marked out, that his honour obliges him to resent it in a proper manner; *mais les honnêtes gens ne se boudent jamais*. I will admit, that it is very difficult to command one's-self enough, to behave with ease, frankness, and good-

* The *Beour Stratagem*, by Farquhar.

breeding towards those, who one knows dislike, slight, and injure one as far as they can without personal consequences; but I assert, that it is absolutely necessary to do it: you must embrace the man you hate, if you cannot be justified in knocking him down; for otherwise you avow the injury, which you cannot revenge. A prudent cuckold (and there are many such at Paris) pockets his horns, when he cannot gore with them; and will not add to the triumph of his maker, by only butting with them ineffectually. A seeming ignorance is very often a most necessary part of worldly knowledge. It is, for instance, commonly advisable to seem ignorant of what people offer to tell you; and, when they say, Have you not heard of such a thing? to answer, No, and to let them go on, though you know it already. Some have a pleasure in telling it, because they think that they tell it well; others have a pride in it, as being the sagacious discoverers; and many have a vanity in showing that they have been, though very undeservedly, trusted: all these would be disappointed, and consequently displeased, if you said, Yes. Seem always ignorant (unless to one most intimate friend) of all matters of private scandal and defamation, though you should hear them a thousand times; for the parties affected always look upon the receiver to be almost as bad as the thief: and, whenever they become the topic of conversation, seem to be a sceptic, though you are really a serious believer; and always take the extenuating part. But all this seeming ignorance should be joined to thorough and extensive private informations: and, indeed, it is the best method of procuring them; for most people have such a vanity, in show-

ing a superiority over others, though but for a moment, and in the merest trifles, that they will tell you what they should not, rather than not show that they can tell what you did not know: besides that, such seeming ignorance will make you pass for incurious, and consequently undesigning. However, fish for facts, and take pains to be well informed of everything that passes; but fish judiciously, and not always, nor indeed often, in the shape of direct questions; which always put people upon their guard, and, often repeated, grow tiresome. But sometimes take the things that you would know for granted; upon which somebody will, kindly and officiously, set you right: sometimes say, that you have heard so and so; and at other times seem to know more than you do, in order to know all that you want: but avoid direct questioning, as much as you can. All these necessary arts of the world require constant attention, presence of mind, and coolness. Achilles, though invulnerable, never went to battle, but completely armed. Courts are to be the theatres of your wars, where you should be always as completely armed, and even with the addition of a heel-piece. The least inattention, the least *distraction*, may prove fatal. I would fain see you what pedants call *omnis homo*, and what Pope much better calls *all-accomplished*: you have the means in your power, add the will, and you may bring it about. The vulgar have a coarse saying, of *spoiling a hog for a halfpenny worth of tar*: prevent the application, by providing the tar; it is very easily to be had, in comparison with what you have already got.

The fine Mrs. Pitt, who, it seems, saw you often at

Paris, speaking of you the other day, said, in French,
for she speaks little English * *

* * * *

whether it is that you did not pay the homage due to her beauty, or that it did not strike you as it does others, I cannot determine; but I hope she had some other reason than truth, for saying it. I will suppose that you did not care a pin* for her; but, however, she surely deserved a degree of propitiatory adoration from you, which I am afraid you neglected. Had I been in your case, I should have endeavoured, at least, to have supplanted Mr. Mackay in his office of nocturnal reader to her. I played at cards, two days ago, with your friend Mrs. Fitzgerald, and her most sublime mother, Mrs. Scaggrave; they both inquired after you: and Mrs. Fitzgerald said, she hoped you went on with your dancing; I said Yes, and that you assured me, you had made such considerable improvements in it, that you had now learned to stand still, and even upright. Your *virtuosa* la Signora Vestri, sung here the other day, with great applause: I presume you are *intimately* acquainted with her merit. Good night to you, whoever you pass it with.

I have this moment received a packet, sealed with your seal, though not directed by your hand, for Lady Hervey. No letter from you! Are you not well?

* In the MS. this word is written in larger character and underlined, denoting an allusion to the fair Madame Du Pin. See p. 176 of this volume.

MAXIMS BY THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

(ENCLOSED IN HIS LETTER OF JANUARY 15, 1753.)

A PROPER secrecy is the only mystery of able men : mystery is the only secrecy of weak and cunning ones.

A man who tells nothing, or who tells all, will equally have nothing told him.

If a fool knows a secret, he tells it because he is a fool ; if a knave knows one, he tells it wherever it is his interest to tell it. But women and young men are very apt to tell what secrets they know, from the vanity of having been trusted. Trust none of these whenever you can help it.

Inattention to the present business, be it what it will ; the doing one thing and thinking at the same time of another, or the attempting to do two things at once, are the never-failing signs of a little frivolous mind.

A man who cannot command his temper, his attention, and his countenance, should not think of being a man of business. The weakest man in the world can avail himself of the passion of the wisest. The inattentive man cannot know the business, and consequently cannot do it. And he who cannot command his countenance, may e'en as well tell his thoughts as show them.

Distrust all those who love you extremely upon a very slight acquaintance, and without any visible reason. Be upon your guard too against those who confess as their weaknesses all the cardinal virtues.

In your friendships and in your enmities let your confidence and your hostilities have certain bounds :

make not the former dangerous, nor the latter irreconcilable. There are strange vicissitudes in business!

Smooth your way to the head through the heart. The way of reason is a good one; but it is commonly something longer, and perhaps not so sure.

Spirit is now a very fashionable word: to act with spirit, to speak with spirit, means only to act rashly and to talk indiscreetly. An able man shows his spirit by gentle words and resolute actions: he is neither hot nor timid.

When a man of sense happens to be in that disagreeable situation, in which he is obliged to ask himself more than once, *What shall I do?* he will answer himself, Nothing. When his reason points out to him no good way, or at least no one way less bad than another, he will stop short and wait for light. A little busy mind runs on at all events, must be doing, and, like a blind horse, fears no dangers because he sees none. *Il faut sçavoir s'ennuyer.*

Patience is a most necessary qualification for business; many a man would rather you heard his story than granted his request. One must seem to hear the unreasonable demands of the petulant unmoved, and the tedious details of the dull untired. That is the least price that a man must pay for a high station.

It is always right to detect a fraud, and to perceive a folly; but it is often very wrong to expose either. A man of business should always have his eyes open, but must often seem to have them shut.

In Courts, nobody should be below your management and attention: the links that form the Court-chain are innumerable and inconceivable. You must hear with patience the dull grievances of a Gentleman

Usher, or a Page of the Back-stairs; who, very probably, lies with some near relation of the favourite maid, of the favourite mistress, of the favourite Minister, or perhaps of the King himself; and who, consequently, may do you more dark and indirect good or harm than the first man of quality.

One good patron at Court may be sufficient, provided you have no personal enemies; and, in order to have none, you must sacrifice (as the Indians do to the Devil) most of your passions and much of your time to the numberless evil beings that infest it; in order to prevent and avert the mischiefs they can do you.

A young man, be his merit what it will, can never raise himself; but must, like the ivy round the oak, twine himself round some man of great power and interest. You must belong to a Minister some time before anybody will belong to you. And an inviolable fidelity to that Minister, even in his disgrace, will be meritorious, and recommend you to the next. Ministers love a personal, much more than a party attachment.

As Kings are begotten and born like other men, it is to be presumed that they are of the human species; and perhaps, had they the same education, they might prove like other men. But, flattered from their cradles, their hearts are corrupted and their heads are turned, so that they seem to be a species by themselves. No King ever said to himself, *Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto*.

Flattery cannot be too strong for them; drunk with it from their infancy, like old drinkers they require drams.

They prefer a personal attachment to a public ser-

vice, and reward it better. They are vain and weak enough to look upon it as a free-will offering to their merit, and not as a burnt-sacrifice to their power.

If you would be a favourite of your King, address yourself to his weaknesses. An application to his reason will seldom prove very successful.

In Courts, bashfulness and timidity are as prejudicial on one hand, as impudence and rashness are on the other. A steady assurance and a cool intrepidity, with an exterior modesty, are the true and necessary medium.

Never apply for what you see very little probability of obtaining; for you will, by asking improper and unattainable things, accustom the Ministers to refuse you so often, that they will find it easy to refuse you the properest and most reasonable ones. It is a common, but a most mistaken rule at Court, to ask for everything in order to get something: you do get something by it, it is true, but that something is refusals and ridicule.

There is a Court jargon, a chit-chat, a small talk, which turns singly upon trifles; and which, in a great many words, says little or nothing. It stands fools instead of what they cannot say, and men of sense instead of what they should not say. It is the proper language of levees, drawing-rooms, and antichambers: it is necessary to know it.

Whatever a man is at Court, he must be genteel and well-bred; that cloak covers as many follies as that of charity does sins. I knew a man of great quality, and in a great station at Court, considered and respected, whose highest character was, that he was humbly proud and genteelly dull.

It is hard to say which is the greatest fool ; he who tells the whole truth, or he who tells no truth at all. Character is as necessary in business as in trade. No man can deceive often in either.

At Court, people embrace without acquaintance, serve one another without friendship, and injure one another without hatred. Interest, not sentiment, is the growth of that soil.

A difference of opinion, though in the merest trifles, alienates little minds, especially of high rank. It is full as easy to commend as to blame a great man's cook, or his tailor : it is shorter too ; and the objects are no more worth disputing about than the people are worth disputing with. It is impossible to inform, but very easy to displease them.

A cheerful, easy countenance and behaviour, are very useful at Court ; they make fools think you a good-natured man ; and they make designing men think you an undesigning one.

There are some occasions in which a man must tell half his secret, in order to conceal the rest ; but there is seldom one in which a man should tell it all. Great skill is necessary to know how far to go, and where to stop.

Ceremony is necessary in Courts, as the outwork and defence of manners.

Flattery, though a base coin, is the necessary pocket-money at Court ; where, by custom and consent, it has obtained such a currency, that it is no longer a fraudulent, but a legal payment.

If a minister refuses you a reasonable request, and either slights or injures you ; if you have not the power to gratify your resentment, have the wisdom to

conceal and dissemble it. Seeming good-humour on your part may prevent rancour on his, and perhaps bring things right again; but if you have the power to hurt, hint modestly, that if provoked, you may possibly have the will too. Fear, when real and well-founded, is perhaps a more prevailing motive at Courts than love.

At Court, many more people can hurt than can help you; please the former, but engage the latter.

Awkwardness is a more real disadvantage than it is generally thought to be; it often occasions ridicule, it always lessens dignity.

A man's own good-breeding is his best security against other people's ill-manners.

Good-breeding carries along with it a dignity, that is respected by the most petulant. Ill-breeding invites and authorises the familiarity of the most timid. No man ever said a pert thing to the Duke of Marlborough. No man ever said a civil one (though many a flattering one) to Sir Robert Walpole.

When the old clipped money was called in for a new coinage in King William's time; to prevent the like for the future, they stamped on the edges of the crown-pieces these words: *et Decus et Tutamen*. That is exactly the case of good-breeding.

Knowledge may give weight, but accomplishments only give lustre; and many more people see than weigh.

Most arts require long study and application; but the most useful art of all, that of pleasing, requires only the desire.

It is to be presumed, that a man of common sense who does not desire to please, desires nothing at all;

since he must know that he cannot obtain anything without it.

A skilful negotiator will most carefully distinguish between the little and the great objects of his business, and will be as frank and open in the former, as he will be secret and pertinacious in the latter.

He will, by his manners and address, endeavour, at least, to make his public adversaries his personal friends. He will flatter and engage the man, while he counterworks the minister; and he will never alienate people's minds from him, by wrangling for points, either absolutely unattainable, or not worth attaining. He will make even a merit of giving up what he could not or would not carry, and sell a trifle for a thousand times its value.

A foreign minister who is concerned in great affairs, must necessarily have spies in his pay; but he must not too easily credit their informations, which are never exactly true, often very false. His best spies will always be those whom he does not pay, but whom he has engaged in his service by his dexterity and address, and who think themselves nothing less than spies.

There is a certain jargon, which in French I should call *un persiflage d'affaires*, that a foreign minister ought to be perfectly master of, and may use very advantageously at great entertainments, in mixed companies, and in all occasions where he must speak, and should say nothing. Well turned and well spoken, it seems to mean something, though in truth it means nothing. It is a kind of political *badinage*, which prevents or removes a thousand difficulties to which a foreign minister is exposed in mixed conversations.

If ever the *volto sciolto*, and the *pensieri stretti* are necessary, they are so in these affairs. A grave, dark, reserved, and mysterious air, has *fenum in cornu*. An even, easy, unembarrassed one invites confidence, and leaves no room for guesses and conjectures.

Both simulation and dissimulation are absolutely necessary for a foreign minister, and yet they must stop short of falsehood and perfidy; that middle point is the difficult one; there ability consists. He must often seem pleased when he is vexed, and grave when he is pleased; but he must never say either; that would be falsehood, an indelible stain to character.

A foreign minister should be a most exact economist; an expense proportioned to his appointments and fortune is necessary; but, on the other hand, debt is inevitable ruin to him. It sinks him into disgrace at the Court where he resides, and into the most servile and abject dependence on the Court that sent him. As he cannot resent ill-usage, he is sure to have enough of it.

The Duc de Sully observes very justly, in his Memoirs, that nothing contributed more to his rise than that prudent economy which he had observed from his youth, and by which he had always a sum of money beforehand, in case of emergencies.

It is very difficult to fix the particular point of economy; the best error of the two is on the parsimonious side. That may be corrected, the other cannot.

The reputation of generosity is to be purchased pretty cheap; it does not depend so much upon a man's general expense, as it does upon his giving handsomely where it is proper to give at all. A

man, for instance, who should give a servant four shillings, would pass for covetous, while he who gave him a crown would be reckoned generous: so that the difference of those two opposite characters turns upon one shilling. A man's character in that particular depends a great deal upon the report of his own servants; a mere trifle above common wages makes their report favourable.

Take care always to form your establishment so much within your income, as to leave a sufficient fund for unexpected contingencies, and a prudent liberality. There is hardly a year in any man's life in which a small sum of ready money may not be employed to great advantage.*

London, May 27, 1753.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE this day been tired, jaded, nay tormented, by the company of a most worthy, sensible, and learned man, a near relation of mine, who dined and passed the evening with me. This seems a paradox, but is a plain truth; he has no knowledge of the world, no manners, no address; far from talking without book, as is commonly said of people who talk sillily, he only talks by book; which, in general conversation, is ten times worse. He has formed in his own closet, from books, certain systems of everything, argues tenaciously upon those principles, and is both surprised and angry at whatever deviates from them. His theories are good, but unfortunately are all impracticable. Why? Because he has only read and

* Upon the back of the original was written, in Mr. Stanhope's hand. "Excellent Maxims, but more calculated for the meridian of France or Spain than of England."

not conversed. He is acquainted with books and an absolute stranger to men. Labouring with his matter, he is delivered of it with pangs; he hesitates, stops in his utterance, and always expresses himself inelegantly. His actions are all ungraceful; so that, with all his merit and knowledge, I would rather converse six hours with the most frivolous tittle-tattle woman, who knew something of the world, than with him. The preposterous notions of a systematical man, who does not know the world, tire the patience of a man who does. It would be endless to correct his mistakes, nor would he take it kindly; for he has considered everything deliberately, and is very sure that he is in the right. Impropriety is a characteristic, and a never-failing one, of these people. Regardless, because ignorant, of customs and manners, they violate them every moment. They often shock, though they never mean to offend; never attending either to the general character, or the particular distinguishing circumstances of the people to whom, or before whom, they talk: whereas the knowledge of the world teaches one, that the very same things which are exceedingly right and proper in one company, time, and place, are exceedingly absurd in others. In short, a man who has great knowledge from experience and observation, of the characters, customs, and manners of mankind, is a being as different from and as superior to a man of mere book and systematical knowledge, as a well-managed horse is to an ass. Study, therefore, cultivate and frequent men and women; not only in their outward, and consequently guarded, but in their interior, domestic, and consequently less disguised characters and manners. Take your notions of things as

by observation and experience you find they really are, and not as you read that they are or should be; for they never are quite what they should be. For this purpose, do not content yourself with general and common acquaintance; but, wherever you can, establish yourself, with a kind of domestic familiarity, in good houses. For instance, go again to Orli for two or three days, and so at two or three *reprises*. Go and stay two or three days at a time at Versailles, and improve and extend the acquaintance you have there. Be at home at St. Cloud; and whenever any private person of fashion invites you to pass a few days at his country-house, accept of the invitation. This will necessarily give you a versatility of mind, and a facility to adopt various manners and customs; for everybody desires to please those in whose house they are; and people are only to be pleased in their own way. Nothing is more engaging than a cheerful and easy conformity to people's particular manners, habits, and even weaknesses; nothing (to use a vulgar expression) should come amiss to a young fellow. He should be, for good purposes, what Alcibiades was commonly for bad ones, a Proteus, assuming with ease, and wearing with cheerfulness, any shape. Heat, cold, luxury, abstinence, gravity, gaiety, ceremony, easiness, learning, trifling, business, and pleasure, are modes which he should be able to take, lay aside, or change occasionally, with as much ease as he would take or lay aside his hat. All this is only to be acquired by use and knowledge of the world, by keeping a great deal of company, analysing every character, and insinuating yourself into the familiarity of various acquaintance. A right, a generous ambition to

make a figure in the world, necessarily gives the desire of pleasing; the desire of pleasing points out, to a great degree, the means of doing it; and the art of pleasing is, in truth, the art of rising, of distinguishing one's-self, of making a figure and a fortune in the world. But without pleasing, without the Graces, as I have told you a thousand times, *ogni fatica è vana*. You are now but nineteen, an age at which most of your countrymen are illiberally getting drunk in port at the University. You have greatly got the start of them in learning; and, if you can equally get the start of them in the knowledge and manners of the world, you may be very sure of outrunning them in Court and Parliament, as you set out so much earlier than they. They generally begin but to see the world at one-and-twenty, you will by that age have seen all Europe. They set out upon their travels unlicked cubs, and in their travels they only lick one another, for they seldom go into any other company. They know nothing but the English world, and the worst part of that too, and generally very little of any but the English language; and they come home at three or four-and-twenty refined and polished (as is said in one of Congreve's plays) like Dutch skippers from a whale-fishing. The care which has been taken of you, and (to do you justice) the cure you have taken of yourself, has left you, at the age of nineteen only, nothing to acquire but the knowledge of the world, manners, address, and those exterior accomplishments. But they are great and necessary acquisitions, to those who have sense enough to know their true value; and your getting them before you are one-and-twenty, and before you enter upon the active and shining

scenes of life, will give you such an advantage over your contemporaries, that they cannot overtake you; they must be distanced. You may probably be placed about a young Prince, who will probably be a young King. There all the various arts of pleasing, the engaging address, the versatility of manners, the *brilliant*, the Graces, will outweigh and yet outrun all solid knowledge and unpolished merit. Oil yourself, therefore, and be both supple and shining for that race, if you would be first or early at the goal. Ladies will most probably too have something to say there; and those who are best with them, will probably be best *somewhere else*. Labour this great point, my dear child, indefatigably; attend to the very smallest parts, the minutest graces, the most trifling circumstances, that can possibly concur in forming the shining character of a complete Gentleman, *un galant homme, un homme de Cour*, a man of business and pleasure; *estimé des hommes, recherché des femmes, aimé de tout le monde*. In this view, observe the shining part of every man of fashion who is liked and esteemed; attend to, and imitate that particular accomplishment for which you hear him chiefly celebrated and distinguished: then collect those various parts, and make yourself a Mosaic of the whole. No one body possesses everything, and almost everybody possesses some one thing worthy of imitation: only choose your models well; and, in order to do so, choose by your ear more than by your eye. The best model is always that which is most universally allowed to be the best, though in strictness it may possibly not be so. We must take most things as they are, we cannot make them what we would, nor often what they

should be; and, where moral duties are not concerned, it is more prudent to follow than to attempt to lead. Adieu!

Bath, October 8, 1753.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU have set out well at the Hague; you are in love with Madame Munter, which I am very glad of: you are in the fine company there, and I hope one of it; for it is not enough, at your age, to be merely in good company; but you should, by your address and attentions, make that good company think you one of them. There is a tribute due to beauty, even independently of further views; which tribute, I hope, you paid with alacrity to Madame Munter and Madame Degenfeldt: depend upon it they expected it, and were offended in proportion as that tribute seemed either unwillingly or scantily paid. I believe my friend Kreuningen* admits nobody now to his table, for fear of their communicating the plague to him, or at least the bite of a mad dog. Pray profit of the *entrées libres* that the French Ambassador has given you; frequent him, and *speak* to him. I think you will not do amiss to call upon Mr. Burrish, at Aix la Chapelle, since it is so little out of your way; and you will do still better, if you would, which I know you will not, drink those waters, for five or six days only, to scour your stomach and bowels a little: I am sure it would do you a great deal of good. Mr. Burrish can, doubtless, give you the best letters to Munich; and he will naturally give you some to Comte Prey-

* Baron de Kreuningen, one of Lord Chesterfield's principal friends at the Hague. See, in the Miscellaneous Correspondence, Lord Chesterfield's letter to him of July 7, 1752.

sing, or Comte Sinsheim, and such sort of grave people; but I could wish that you would ask him for some to young fellows of pleasure, or fashionable coquettes, that you may be *dans l'honnête débauche de Munich*. *A propos* of your future motions; I leave you in a great measure the master of them, so shall only suggest my thoughts to you upon that subject.

You have three Electoral Courts in view, Bonn, Munich, and Manheim. I would advise you to see two of them rather cursorily, and fix your tabernacle at the third, whichever that may be, for a considerable time. For instance, should you choose (as I fancy you will) to make Manheim the place of your residence, stay only ten or twelve days at Bonn, and as long at Munich, and then go and fix at Manheim; and so *vice versâ*, if you should like Bonn or Munich better than you think you would Manheim, make that the place of your residence, and only visit the other two. It is certain that no man can be much pleased himself, or please others much, in any place where he is only a bird of passage for eight or ten days; neither party thinking it worth while to make an acquaintance, still less to form any connection, for so short a time: but when months are the case, a man may domesticate himself pretty well; and very soon not be looked upon as a stranger. This is the real utility of travelling, when, by contracting a familiarity at any place, you get into the inside of it, and see it in its undress. That is the only way of knowing the customs, the manners, and all the little characteristical peculiarities that distinguish one place from another; but then this familiarity is not to be brought about by cold, formal visits of half an hour: no; you must

show a willingness, a desire, an impatience, of forming connections, *il faut s'y prêter, et y mettre du liant, du désir de plaire.* Whatever you do approve, you must be lavish in your praises of; and you must learn to commend what you do not approve of, if it is approved of there. You are not much given to praise, I know; but it is because you do not yet know how extremely people are engaged by a seeming sanction to their own opinions, prejudices, and weaknesses, even in the merest trifles. Our self-love is mortified, when we think our opinions, and even our tastes, customs, and dresses, either arraigned or condemned; as, on the contrary, it is tickled and flattered by approbation. I will give you a remarkable instance of this kind. The famous Earl of Shaftesbury, in the flagitious reign of Charles the Second, while he was Chancellor, had a mind to be a favourite as well as a Minister of the King: in order, therefore, to please His Majesty, whose prevailing passion was women, my Lord kept a w——, whom he had no occasion for, and made no manner of use of. The King soon heard of it, and asked him if it was true; he owned it was; but that, though he kept that one woman, he had several others besides, for he loved variety. A few days afterwards, the King, at his public levée, saw Lord Shaftesbury at some distance, and said in the circle, "One would not think that that little, weak man is the greatest w——master in England; but I can assure you that he is." Upon Lord Shaftesbury's coming into the circle, there was a general smile; the King said, "This is concerning you, my Lord." "Me, Sir!" answered the Chancellor, with some surprise. "Yes, you," answered the King; "for

"I had just said, that you were the greatest w——
"master in England: Is it not true?" "Of a *subject*,
"Sir," replied Lord Shaftesbury, "perhaps I am."
It is the same in everything; we think a difference
of opinion, of conduct, of manners, a tacit reproach,
at least, upon our own; we must therefore use our-
selves to a ready conformity to whatever is neither
criminal nor dishonourable. Whoever differs from
any general custom, is supposed both to think, and
proclaim himself wiser than the rest of the world;
which the rest of the world cannot bear, especially in
a young man. A young fellow is always forgiven,
and often applauded, when he carries a fashion to an
excess; but never if he stops short of it. The first is
ascribed to youth and fire; but the latter is imputed
to an affectation of singularity, or superiority. At
your age, one is allowed to *outriv* fashion, dress, vi-
vacity, gallantry, &c., but by no means to be behind
hand in any one of them. And one may apply to
youth in this case, *Si non errasset, fecerat ille minis*.
Adieu!

Bath, October 19, 1753.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OF all the various ingredients that compose the
useful and necessary art of pleasing, no one is so
effectual and engaging as that gentleness, that *douceur*
of countenance and manners, to which you are no
stranger, though (God knows why) a sworn enemy.
Other people take great pains to conceal or disguise
their natural imperfections; some by the make of their
clothes, and other arts, endeavour to conceal the de-
fects of their shape; women who unfortunately have

natural bad complexions, lay on good ones; and both men and women upon whom unkind nature has inflicted a surliness and ferocity of countenance, do at least all they can, though often without success, to soften and mitigate it; they affect *douceur*, and aim at smiles, though often in the attempt, like the Devil in *Milton*, they grin horribly a ghastly smile. But you are the only person I ever knew, in the whole course of my life, who not only disdain, but absolutely reject and disguise a great advantage that nature has kindly granted. You easily guess I mean *countenance*; for she has given you a very pleasing one; but you beg to be excused, you will not accept it; on the contrary, take singular pains to put on the most *funeste*, forbidding, and unpleasing one, that can possibly be imagined. This one would think impossible; but you know it to be true. If you imagine that it gives you a manly, thoughtful, and decisive air, as some, though very few of your countrymen do, you are most exceedingly mistaken; for it is at best the air of a German corporal, part of whose exercise is to look fierce, and to *blasmeer-op*. You will say, perhaps, What, am I always to be studying my countenance, in order to wear this *douceur*? I answer, No, do it but for a fortnight, and you never will have occasion to think of it more. Take but half the pains to recover the countenance that nature gave you, that you must have taken to disguise and deform it as you have, and the business will be done. Accustom your eyes to a certain softness, of which they are very capable, and your face to smiles, which become it more than most faces I know. Give all your motions, too, an air of *douceur*, which is directly the reverse of their present

celerity and rapidity. I wish you would adopt a little of *l'air du courant* (you very well know what I mean) to a certain degree; it has something extremely engaging; there is a mixture of benevolence, affection, and unction in it; it is frequently really sincere, but is almost always thought so, and consequently pleasing. Will you call this trouble? It will not be half an hour's trouble to you in a week's time. But suppose it be, pray tell me, why did you give yourself the trouble of learning to dance so well as you do? It is neither a religious, moral, or civil duty. You must own, that you did it then singly to please, and you were in the right on't. Why do you wear your fine clothes, and curl your hair? Both are troublesome; lank locks, and plain flimsy rags, are much easier. This, then, you also do in order to please, and you do very right. But then, for God's sake, reason and act consequentially; and endeavour to please in other things too, still more essential, and without which the trouble you have taken in those is wholly thrown away. You show your dancing, perhaps, six times a year, at most; but you show your countenance, and your common motions every day, and all day. Which, then, I appeal to yourself, ought you to think of the most, and care to render easy, graceful, and engaging? *Douceur* of countenance and gesture can alone make them so. You are by no means ill-natured; and would you then most unjustly be reckoned so? Yet your common countenance intimates, and would make anybody, who did not know you, believe it. *A propos* of this; I must tell you what was said the other day to a fine lady whom you know, who is very good-natured, in truth, but whose common countenance

implies ill-nature, even to brutality. It was Miss Hamilton, Lady Murray's* niece, whom you have seen, both at Blackheath and at Lady Hervey's. Lady Murray was saying to me, that you had a very engaging countenance, when you had a mind to it, but that you had not always that mind; upon which Miss Hamilton said, that she liked your countenance best, when it was as glum as her own. Why then, replied Lady Murray, you two should marry; for, while you both wear your worst countenances, nobody else will venture upon either of you; and they call her now Mrs. Stanhope!

To complete this *douceur* of countenance and motions, which I so earnestly recommend to you, you should carry it also to your expressions and manner of thinking: *mettez y toujours de l'affectueux et de l'onction*; take the gentle, the favourable, the indulgent side of most questions. I own, that the manly and sublime John Trott, your countryman, seldom does; but, to show his spirit and decision, takes the rough and harsh side, which he generally adorns with an oath, to seem more formidable. This he only thinks fine; for, to do John justice, he is commonly as good-natured as anybody. These are among the many little things which you have not, and I have lived, long enough in the world to know of what infinite consequence they are in the course of life. Reason then, I repeat it again, within yourself *consequentially*; and let not the pains you have taken, and still

* This lady appears to have been the daughter of John Hamilton, Esq., and wife of Sir Patrick Murray, Bart., of Ochtertyre. One of their grandsons is the gallant Sir George Murray, now Master-General of the Ordnance.

take, to please in some things, be *à pure perte*, by your negligence of, and inattention to, others, of much less trouble, and much more consequence.

I have been of late much engaged, or rather bewildered, in Oriental history, particularly that of the Jews, since the destruction of their temple, and their dispersion by Titus; but the confusion and uncertainty of the whole, and the monstrous extravagances and falsehoods of the greatest part of it, disgusted me extremely. Their Thalmud, their Mischna, their Targums, and other traditions and writings of their Rabbins and Doctors, who were most of them Cabalists, are really more extravagant and absurd, if possible, than all that you have read in Comte de Gabalis; and, indeed, most of his stuff is taken from them. Take this sample of their nonsense, which is transmitted in the writings of one of their most considerable Rabbins. "One Abas Saul, a man of ten feet high, was digging a grave, and happened to find the eye of Goliath, in which he thought proper to bury himself; and so he did, all but his head, which the giant's eye was unfortunately not quite deep enough to receive." This, I assure you, is the most modest lie of ten thousand. I have also read the Turkish History, which, excepting the religious part, is not fabulous, though very possibly not true. For the Turks, having no notion of letters, and being even by their religion forbid the use of them, except for reading and transcribing the Koran, they have no historians of their own, nor any authentic records or memorials for other historians to work upon; so that what histories we have of that country, are written by foreigners; as Platina, Sir Paul Rycaut, Prince Cantemir, &c., or else snatches

only of particular and short periods, by some who happened to reside there at those times ; such as Busbequius, whom I have just finished. I like him, as far as he goes, much the best of any of them ; but then his account is, properly, only an account of his own embassy, from the Emperor Charles the Fifth to Solymán the Magnificent. However, there he gives, episodically, the best account I know, of the customs and manners of the Turks, and of the nature of that government, which is a most extraordinary one. For, despotic as it always seems, and sometimes is, it is in truth a military republic, and the real power resides in the Janissaries ; who sometimes order their Sultan to strangle his Vizir, and sometimes the Vizir to depose or strangle his Sultan, according as they happen to be angry at the one or the other. I own, I am glad that the capital strangler should, in his turn, be *strangleable*, and now and then strangled ; for I know of no brute so fierce, nor criminal so guilty, as the creature called a Sovereign, whether King, Sultan, or Sophy, who thinks himself, either by divine or human right, vested with an absolute power of destroying his fellow-creatures ; or who, without inquiring into his right, lawlessly exerts that power. The most excusable of all those human monsters are the Turks, whose religion teaches them inevitable fatalism. *A propos* of the Turks ; my Loyola, I pretend, is superior to your Sultan. Perhaps you think this impossible, and wonder who this Loyola is. Know then, that I have had a *Barbet* brought me from France, so exactly like Sultan, that he has been mistaken for him several times ; only his snout is shorter, and his ears longer than Sultan's. He has also the acquired knowledge

of Sultan; and I am apt to think that he studied under the same master at Paris. His habit, and his white band, show him to be an ecclesiastic; and his begging, which he does very earnestly, proves him to be of a Mendicant order; which, added to his flattery and insinuation, make him supposed to be a Jesuit, and have acquired him the name of Loyola. I must not omit too, that, when he b—— w——, he smells exactly like Sultan.

I do not yet hear one jot the better for all my bathings and pumpings, though I have been here already full half my time; I consequently go very little into company, being very little fit for any. I hope you keep company enough for us both; you will get more by that than I shall by all my reading. I read singly to amuse myself, and fill up my time, of which I have too much; but you have two much better reasons for going into company, Pleasure and Profit. May you find a great deal of both, in a great deal of company! Adieu.

London, November 20, 1753.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Two mails are now due from Holland, so that I have no letter from you to acknowledge; but that, you know by long experience, does not hinder my writing to you: I always receive your letters with pleasure; but I mean, and endeavour, that you should receive mine with some profit; preferring always your advantage to my own pleasure.

If you find yourself well settled and naturalized at Mannheim, stay there for some time, and do not leave a certain for an uncertain good: but if you think you

shall be as well, or better established at Munich, go there as soon as you please; and if disappointed, you can always return to Manheim. I mentioned, in a former letter, your passing the Carnival at Berlin, which, I think, may be both useful and pleasing to you; however, do as you will; but let me know what you resolve. That King and that country have, and will have, so great a share in the affairs of Europe, that they are well worth being thoroughly known.

Whether, where you are now, or ever may be hereafter, you speak French, German, or English most, I earnestly recommend to you a particular attention to the propriety and elegance of your style: employ the best words you can find in the language, avoid *cacophony*, and make your periods as harmonious as you can. I need not, I am sure, tell you, what you must often have felt, how much the elegance of diction adorns the best thoughts, and palliates the worst. In the House of Commons, it is almost everything: and indeed, in every assembly, whether public or private. Words, which are the dress of thoughts, deserve, surely, more care than clothes, which are only the dress of the person, and which, however, ought to have their share of attention. If you attend to your style, in any one language, it will give you an habit of attending to it in every other; and if once you speak either French or German very elegantly, you will afterwards speak much the better English for it. I repeat it to you again, for at least the thousandth time; exert your whole attention now in acquiring the ornamental parts of character. People know very little of the world, and talk nonsense, when they talk of plainness and solidity unadorned;

they will do in nothing: mankind has been long out of a state of nature, and the golden age of native simplicity will never return. Whether for the better or the worse, no matter; but we are refined; and plain manners, plain dress, and plain diction, would as little do in life, as acorns, herbage, and the water of the neighbouring spring, would do at table. Some people are just come, who interrupt me in the middle of my sermon; so good night.

London, November 28, 1758.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

FINE doings at Manheim! If one may give credit to the weekly histories of Monsieur Roderigue, the finest writer among the moderns; not only *des chasses brillantes et nombreuses, des opéras où les acteurs se surpassent les jours de Saints de LL.AA.EE.* Sérénissimes, célébrés en grand gala*; but, to crown the whole, Monsieur Zuehmantel is happily arrived, and Monsieur Wartensleben hourly expected. I hope that you are *pars magna* of all these delights; though, as Noll Bluff says, in the Old Batchelor, "*that rascally Gazetteer takes no more notice of you, than if you were not in the land of the living.*" I should think, that he might at least have taken notice, that in those rejoicings you appeared with a rejoicing, and not a gloomy countenance; and you distinguished yourself, in that numerous and shining company, by your air, dress, address, and attentions. If this was the case, as I will both hope and suppose that it was, I will, if

* *Leurs Allesses Electorales.*

you require it, have him written to, to do you justice in his next *supplément*. Seriously, I am very glad, that you are whirled in that *tourbillon* of pleasures; they smooth, polish, and rub off rough corners; perhaps too, you have some particular *collision*, which is still more effectual.

Schannat's History of the Palatinate was, I find, written originally in German, in which language, I suppose, it is that you have read it; but, as I must humbly content myself with the French translation, Vaillant has sent for it for me, from Holland, so that I have not yet read it. While you are in the Palatinate, you do very well to read everything relative to it; you will do still better if you make that reading the foundation of your inquiries into the more minute circumstances and anecdotes of that country, whenever you are in company with informed and knowing people.

The Ministers here, intimidated by the absurd and groundless clamours of the mob, have, very weakly, in my mind, repealed, this session, the bill which they had passed the last, for rendering Jews capable of being naturalized, by subsequent Acts of Parliament. The clamourers triumph, and will, doubtless, make farther demands; which, if not granted, this piece of complaisance will soon be forgotten. Nothing is truer in politics, than this reflection of the Cardinal de Retz, *Que le peuple craint toujours quand on ne le craint pas*; and, consequently, they grow unreasonable and insolent, when they find that they are feared. Wise and honest governors will never, if they can help it, give the people just cause to complain; but then, on the other hand, they will firmly withstand

groundless clamour. Besides that, this noise against the Jew bill proceeds from that narrow mob-spirit of *intoleration* in religious, and inhospitality in civil matters; both which all wise governments should oppose.

The confusion in France increases daily, as, no doubt, you are informed where you are. There is an answer of the Clergy's to the remonstrances of the Parliament, lately published; which was sent me by the last post from France, and which I would have sent you, enclosed in this, were it not too bulky. Very probably you may see it at Manheim, from the French Minister; it is very well worth your reading, being most artfully and plausibly written, though founded upon false principles; the *jus divinum* of the Clergy, and, consequently, their supremacy in all matters of faith and doctrine, are asserted; both which I absolutely deny. Were those two points allowed the Clergy of any country whatsoever, they must necessarily govern that country absolutely; everything being, directly or indirectly, relative to faith or doctrine; and whoever is supposed to have the power of saving and damning souls to all eternity, (which power the Clergy pretend to) will be much more considered, and better obeyed, than any civil power, that forms no pretensions beyond this world. Whereas, in truth, the Clergy in every country are, like all other subjects, dependent upon the supreme legislative power; and are appointed by that power, under whatever restrictions and limitations it pleases, to keep up decency and decorum in the Church, just as constables are to keep peace in the parish. This Fra Paolo has clearly proved, even upon their own principles of the

Old and New Testament, in his book *de Beneficiis*, which I recommend to you to read with attention ; it is short. Adieu !

London, December 25, 1763.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YESTERDAY again I received two letters at once from you, the one of the 7th, the other of the 15th, from Manheim.

You never had in your life so good a reason for not writing, either to me or to anybody else, as your sore finger lately furnished you. I believe it was painful, and I am glad it is cured ; but a sore finger, however painful, is a much lesser evil than laziness of either body or mind, and attended by fewer ill consequences.

I am very glad to hear that you were distinguished at the Court of Manheim from the rest of your countrymen and fellow-travellers : it is a sign that you had better manners and address than they ; for take it for granted, the best-bred people will always be the best received wherever they go. Good manners are the settled medium of social, as *specie* is of commercial life ; returns are equally expected for both ; and people will no more advance their civility to a Bear than their money to a Bankrupt. I really both hope and believe that the German Courts will do you a great deal of good ; their ceremony and restraint being the proper correctives and antidotes for your negligence and inattention. I believe they would not greatly relish your weltering in your own laziness, and an easy chair, nor take it very kindly if, when they spoke to you, or you to them, you looked another way, as much as to say, kiss my b——. As they give so they

require attention ; and, by the way, take this maxim for an undoubted truth : That no young man can possibly improve in any company for which he has not respect enough to be under some degree of restraint.

I dare not trust to Meyssonier's report of his Rhenish, his Burgundy not having answered, either his account or my expectations. I doubt, as a wine-merchant, he is the *perfidus caupo*, whatever he may be as a banker. I shall therefore venture upon none of his wine ; but delay making my provision of old hock till I go abroad myself next spring ; as I told you in the utmost secrecy in my last,* that I intend to do ; and then, probably, I may taste some that I like, and go upon sure ground. There is commonly very good both at Aix-la-Chapelle and Liege ; where I formerly got some excellent, which I carried with me to Spa, where I drank no other wine.

As my letters to you frequently miscarry, I will repeat in this that part of my last which related to your future motions. Whenever you shall be tired of Berlin, go to Dresden, where Sir Charles Williams will be, who will receive you with open arms. He dined with me to-day, and sets out for Dresden in about six weeks. He spoke of you with great kindness, and impatience to see you again. He will trust and employ you in business (and he is now in the whole secret of importance) till we fix our place to meet in ; which probably will be Spa. Wherever you are, inform yourself minutely of, and attend particularly to, the affairs of France ; they grow serious, and, in my opinion, will grow more and more so every day. The King is despised, and I do not wonder at it ; but he

* That letter is missing.

has brought it about to be hated at the same time, which seldom happens to the same man. His Ministers are known to be as disunited as incapable: he hesitates between the Church and the Parliaments, like the ass in the fable, that starved between two hampers of hay; too much in love with his mistress to part with her, and too much afraid for his soul, to enjoy her: jealous of the Parliaments, who would support his authority; and a devoted bigot to the Church that would destroy it. The people are poor, consequently discontented: those who have religion are divided in their notions of it; which is saying that they hate one another. The Clergy never do forgive; much less will they forgive the Parliament: the Parliament never will forgive them. The Army must, without doubt, take, in their own minds at least, different parts in all these disputes, which, upon occasion, would break out. Armies, though always the supporters and tools of absolute power for the time being, are always the destroyers of it too; by frequently changing the hands in which they think proper to lodge it. This was the case of the Prætorian bands, who deposed and murdered the monsters they had raised to oppress mankind. The Janissaries in Turkey, and the regiments of Guards in Russia, do the same now. The French nation reasons freely, which they never did before, upon matters of religion and government, and begin to be *sprejudicati*; the officers do so too; in short, all the symptoms which I have ever met with in history, previous to great changes and revolutions in Government, now exist, and daily increase in France. I am glad of it; the rest of Europe will be the quieter, and have time to

recover. England, I am sure, wants rest ; for it wants men and money : the Republic of the United Provinces wants both still more : the other Powers cannot well dance, when neither France nor the Maritime Powers can, as they used to do, pay the piper. The first squabble in Europe that I foresee will be about the Crown of Poland, should the present King die ; and therefore I wish his Majesty a long life and a merry Christmas. So much for foreign politics : but, *à propos* of them, pray take care, while you are in those parts of Germany, to inform yourself correctly of all the details, discussions, and agreements which the several wars, confiscations, bans, and treaties, occasioned between the Bavarian and Palatine Electorates : they are interesting and curious.

I shall not, upon the occasion of the approaching New Year, repeat to you the wishes which I continue to form for you ; you know them all already ; and you know that it is absolutely in your own power to satisfy most of them. Among many other wishes, this is my most earnest one : That you would open the New Year with a most solemn and devout sacrifice to the Graces ; who never reject those that supplicate them with fervour : without them, let me tell you, that your friend, Dame Fortune, will stand you in little stead : may they all be your friends ! Adieu !

London, January 15, 1754.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE this moment received your letter of the 26th past, from Munich. Since you are got so well

out of the distress and dangers of your journey from
Manheim, I am glad that you were in them,

Condisce i diletti
Memoria di pene,
Ne sà che sia bene
Chi mal non soffrì.

They were but little samples of the much greater distress and dangers which you must expect to meet with in your great, and I hope long journey through life. In some part of it flowers are scattered with profusion, the road is smooth, and the prospect pleasant; but in others (and I fear the greater number) the road is rugged, beset with thorns and briars, and cut by torrents. Gather the flowers in your way; but at the same time guard against the briars that are either mixed with them, or that most certainly succeed them.

I thank you for your wild boar, who, now he is dead, I assure him *se laissera bien manger malgré qu'il en ait*; though I am not sure that I should have had that personal valour which so successfully distinguished you in single combat with him, which made him bite the dust like Homer's heroes, and, to conclude my period sublimely, put him into that *pickle* from which I propose eating him. At the same time that I applaud your valour, I must do justice to your modesty, which candidly admits that you were not overmatched, and that your adversary was of about your own age and size. A *Marcassin*, being under a year old, would have been below your indignation. *Bête de compagnie*, being under two years old, was still, in my opinion, below your glory; but I guess that your enemy was *un Ragot*, that is,

from two to three years old; an age and size which, between man and boar, answer pretty well to yours.

If accidents of bad roads or waters do not retain you at Munich, I do not fancy that pleasures will; and I rather believe you will seek for, and find them at the Carnival at Berlin; in which supposition I eventually direct this letter to your banker there. While you are at Berlin (I earnestly recommend it to you again and again) pray *care* to see, hear, know, and mind, every thing there. *The ablest Prince in Europe* is surely an object that deserves attention; and the least thing that he does, like the smallest sketches of the greatest painters, has its value, and a considerable one too.

Read with care the *Code Frédéric*, and inform yourself of the good effects of it in those parts of his dominions where it has taken place, and where it has banished the former chicanes, quirks, and quibbles of the old law. Do not think any detail too minute or trifling for your inquiry and observation. I wish that you could find one hour's leisure every day, to read some good Italian author, and to converse in that language with our worthy friend Signor Angelo Cori: it would both refresh and improve your Italian, which, of the many languages you know, I take to be that in which you are the least perfect; but of which too you already know enough to make yourself master of, with very little trouble, whenever you please.

Live, dwell, and grow at the several Courts there; use them so much to your face, that they may not look upon you as a stranger. Observe, and take their tone, even to their affectations and follies; for

such there are, and perhaps should be, at all Courts. Stay, in all events, at Berlin, till I inform you of Sir Charles Williams's arrival at Dresden ; where, I suppose, you would not care to be before him, and where you may go as soon after him as ever you please. Your time there will neither be unprofitably nor disagreeably spent ; he will introduce you into all the best company, though he can introduce you to none so good as his own. He has of late applied himself very seriously to foreign affairs, especially those of Saxony and Poland : he knows them perfectly well, and will tell you what he knows. He always expresses, and I have good reason to believe very sincerely, great kindness and affection for you.

The works of the late Lord Bolingbroke are just published, and have plunged me into philosophical studies ; which hitherto I have not been much used to, or delighted with, convinced of the futility of those researches ; but I have read his Philosophical Essay upon the extent of human knowledge, which, by the way, makes two large quartos and a half. He there shows very clearly, and with most splendid eloquence, what the human mind can and cannot do ; that our understandings are wisely calculated for our place in this planet, and for the link which we form in the universal chain of things ; but that they are by no means capable of that degree of knowledge which our curiosity makes us search after, and which our vanity makes us often believe we arrive at. I shall not recommend to you the reading of that work. But, when you return hither, I shall recommend to your frequent and diligent perusal all his tracts that are relative to our history and constitution ; upon which

he throws lights and scatters graces which no other writer has ever done.

Reading, which was always a pleasure to me, in the time even of my greatest dissipation, is now become my only refuge; and, I fear, I indulge it too much, at the expense of my eyes. But what can I do? I must do something; I cannot bear absolute idleness: my ears grow every day more useless to me, my eyes, consequently, more necessary. I will not hoard them like a miser, but will rather risk the loss than not enjoy the use of them.

Pray let me know all the particulars, not only of your reception at Munich, but also at Berlin; at the latter, I believe, it will be a good one; for his Prussian Majesty knows that I have long been an *admirer and respecter of his great and various talents*. Adieu.

London, February 1, 1754.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED yesterday yours of the 12th from Munich, in consequence of which I direct this to you there, though I directed my three last to Berlin, where, I suppose, you will find them at your arrival. Since you are not only domesticated, but *niché* at Munich, you are much in the right to stay there. It is not by seeing places that one knows them, but by familiar and daily conversations with the people of fashion. I would not care to be in the place of that prodigy of beauty whom you are to drive *dans la course de Traineaux*; and I am apt to think you are much more likely to break her bones than she is, though ever so cruel, to break your heart. Nay, I am not sure but

that, according to all the rules of gallantry, you are obliged to overturn her on purpose: in the first place, for the chance of seeing her —; in the next, for the sake of the contrition and concern which it would give you an opportunity of showing; and lastly, upon account of all the *gentilleses et épigrammes*, which it would naturally suggest. Voiture has made several stanzas upon an accident of that kind, which happened to a lady of his acquaintance. There is a great deal of wit in them, rather too much; for, according to the taste of those times, they are full of what the Italians call *concetti spiritosissimi*; the Spaniards, *agudeze*; and we, affectation and quaintness. I hope you have endeavoured to suit your *Traineau* to the character of the fair one whom it is to contain. If she is of an irascible, impetuous disposition (as fine women can sometimes be) you will, doubtless, place her in the body of a lion, a tiger, a dragon, or some tremendous beast of prey and fury; if she is a sublime and stately beauty, which I think more probable (for unquestionably she is *hoch gebohrne*) you will, I suppose, provide a magnificent swan or proud peacock for her reception; but if she is all tenderness and softness, you have, to be sure, taken care amorous doves and wanton sparrows should seem to flutter round her. Proper mottos, I take it for granted, that you have eventually prepared; but if not, you may find a great many ready-made ones, in *Les entretiens d'Ariete et d'Eugène, sur les devises*, written by Père Bouhours, and worth your reading at any time. I will not say to you, upon this occasion, like the Father in Ovid,

Parce puer stimulis et fortius utere loris.

On the contrary, drive on briskly ; it is not the chariot of the sun that you drive, but you carry the sun in your chariot ; consequently, the faster it goes, the less it will be likely either to scorch or consume. This is Spanish enough, I am sure.

If this finds you still at Munich, pray make many compliments from me to Mr. Burrish, to whom I am very much obliged for all his kindness to you : it is true, that while I had power I endeavoured to serve him ; but it is as true too, that I served many others more, who have neither returned nor remembered those services.

I have been very ill this last fortnight of your old Carniolian complaint, the *arthritis vaga* ; luckily, it did not fall upon my breast, but seized on my right arm ; there it fixed its seat of empire ; but, as in all tyrannical governments, the remotest parts felt their share of its severity. Last post I was not able to hold a pen long enough to write to you, and therefore desired Mr. Grevenkop to do it for me ; but that letter was directed to Berlin. My pain is now much abated, though I have still some fine remains of it in my shoulder, where, I fear, it will teaze me a great while. I must be careful to take Horace's advice, and consider well, *Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusent*.

Lady Chesterfield bids me make you her compliments, and assure you, that the music will be much more welcome to her with you, than without you.

In some of my last letters, which were directed to, and will, I suppose, wait for you at Berlin, I complimented you, and with justice, upon your great improvement of late in the epistolary way, both with regard to the style and the turn of your letters ; your

four or five last to me have been very good ones, and one that you wrote to Mr. Harte, upon the New Year, was so pretty a one, and he was so much and so justly pleased with it, that he sent it me from Windsor, the instant he had read it. This talent (and a most necessary one it is in the course of life) is to be acquired by resolving, and taking pains, to acquire it; and, indeed, so is every talent except poetry, which is, undoubtedly, a gift. Think therefore, night and day, of the turn, the purity, the correctness, the perspicuity, and the elegance of whatever you speak or write: take my word for it your labour will not be in vain, but greatly rewarded by the harvest of praise and success which it will bring you. Delicacy of turn, and elegance of style, are ornaments as necessary to common sense, as attentions, address, and fashionable manners, are to common civility; both may subsist without them, but then, without being of the least use to the owner. The figure of a man is exactly the same, in dirty rags, or in the finest and best-chosen clothes; but in which of the two he is the most likely to please, and to be received in good company, I leave to you to determine.

Both my arm and my paper hint to me, to bid you good night.

London, February 12, 1754.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I TAKE my aim, and let off this letter at you, at Berlin; I should be sorry it missed you, because I believe you will read it with as much pleasure as I write it. It is to inform you, that, after some difficulties and dangers, your seat in the new Parliament is at last

absolutely secured, and that without opposition, or the least necessity of your personal trouble or appearance. This success, I must farther inform you, is, in a great degree, owing to Mr. Eliot's friendship to us both; for he brings you in with himself, at his surest borough.* As it was impossible to act with more zeal and friendship, than Mr. Eliot has acted in this whole affair, I desire that you will, by the very next post, write him a letter of thanks; warm and young thanks, not old and cold ones. You may enclose it in yours to me, and I will send it to him, for he is now in Cornwall.

Thus, sure of being a Senator, I dare say you do not propose to be one of the *pedarii senatores et pedibus ire in sententiam*; for, as the House of Commons is the theatre where you must make your fortune and figure in the world, you must resolve to be an actor, and not a *persona muta*, which is just equivalent to a candle-snuffer upon other theatres. Whoever does not shine there is obscure, insignificant, and contemptible; and you cannot conceive how easy it is, for a man of half your sense and knowledge, to shine there if he pleases. The receipt to make a speaker, and an applauded one too, is short and easy. Take of common sense *quantum sufficit*, add a little application to the rules and orders of the House, throw obvious thoughts in a new light, and make up the whole with a large quantity of purity, correctness, and elegance of style. Take it for granted, that by far the greatest part of mankind do neither analyse nor search to the bottom; they are incapable of penetrating deeper than

* This arrangement was in its details slightly altered. At the General Election in the spring of 1764, Mr. Eliot was returned for St. Germain's, and Mr. Stanhope for Liskeard.

the surface. All have senses to be gratified, very few have reason to be applied to. Graceful utterance and action please their eyes, elegant diction tickles their ears; but strong reason would be thrown away upon them. I am not only persuaded by theory, but convinced by my experience, that (supposing a certain degree of common sense) what is called a good speaker, is as much a mechanic as a good shoemaker; and that the two trades are equally to be learned by the same degree of application. Therefore, for God's sake, let this trade be the principal object of your thoughts; never lose sight of it. Attend minutely to your style, whatever language you speak or write in; seek for the best words, and think of the best turns. Whenever you doubt of the propriety or elegance of any word, search the dictionary, or some good author for it, or inquire of somebody, who is master of that language; and in a little time, propriety and elegance of diction will become so habitual to you, that they will cost you no more trouble. As I have laid this down to be mechanical, and attainable by whoever will take the necessary pains, there will be no great vanity in my saying, that I saw the importance of the object so early, and attended to it so young, that it would now cost me more trouble to speak or write ungrammatically, vulgarly, and inelegantly, than ever it did to avoid doing so. The late Lord Bolingbroke, without the least trouble, talked all day long full as elegantly as he wrote: Why? Not by a peculiar gift from heaven; but, as he has often told me himself, by an early and constant attention to his style. The present Solicitor-General, Murray, has less law than many lawyers, but has more practice than any; merely upon

account of his eloquence, of which he has a never-failing stream. I remember, so long ago as when I was at Cambridge, whenever I read pieces of eloquence (and indeed they were my chief study) whether ancient or modern, I used to write down the shining passages, and then translate them, as well and as elegantly as ever I could; if Latin or French, into English; if English, into French. This, which I practised for some years, not only improved and formed my style, but imprinted in my mind and memory the best thoughts of the best authors. The trouble was little, but the advantage I have experienced was great. While you are abroad, you can neither have time nor opportunity to read pieces of English, or Parliamentary eloquence, as I hope you will carefully do when you return; but, in the meantime, whenever pieces of French eloquence come in your way, such as the speeches of persons received into the Academy, *oraisons funébres*, representations of the several Parliaments to the King, &c. read them in that view, in that spirit; observe the harmony, the turn and elegance of the style; examine in what you think it might have been better; and consider in what, had you written it yourself, you might have done worse. Compare the different manners of expressing the same thoughts, in different authors; and observe how differently the same things appear in different dresses. Vulgar, coarse, and ill-chosen words, will deform and degrade the best thoughts, as much as rags and dirt will the best figure. In short, you now know your object; pursue it steadily, and have no digressions that are not relative to, and connected with, the main action. Your success in Parliament will effectually remove all

other objections; either a foreign or a domestic destination will no longer be refused you, if you make your way to it through Westminster.

I think I may now say, that I am quite recovered of my late illness, strength and spirits excepted, which are not yet restored. Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa will, I believe, answer all my purposes.

I long to hear an account of your reception at Berlin, which I fancy will be a most gracious one.

Adieu.

London, February 15, 1754.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I CAN NOW with great truth apply your own motto to you, *Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia*. You are sure of being, as early as your age will permit, a Member of that House which is the only road to figure and fortune in this country. Those indeed who are bred up to, and distinguish themselves in, particular professions, as the army, the navy, and the law, may by their own merit raise themselves to a certain degree; but you may observe too, that they never get to the top, without the assistance of Parliamentary talents and influence. The means of distinguishing yourself in Parliament are, as I told you in my last, much more easily attained than I believe you imagine. Close attendance to the business of the House will soon give you the Parliamentary *routine*; and strict attention to your style will soon make you, not only a speaker, but a good one. The vulgar look upon a man who is reckoned a fine speaker, as a phenomenon, a supernatural being, and endowed with some peculiar gift of Heaven; they

stare at him, if he walks in the Park, and cry, *that is he*. You will, I am sure, view him in a juster light, and *nullâ formidine*. You will consider him only as a man of good sense, who adorns common thoughts with the graces of elocution, and the elegance of style. The miracle will then cease; and you will be convinced, that with the same application and attention, to the same objects, you may most certainly equal, and perhaps surpass, this prodigy. Sir William Yonge, with not a quarter of your parts, and not a thousandth part of your knowledge, has, by a glibness of tongue singly,* raised himself successively to the best employments of the kingdom: he has been Lord of the Admiralty, Lord of the Treasury, Secretary at War, and is now Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; and all this, with a most sullied, not to say blasted character. Represent the thing to yourself as it really is, easily attainable, and you will find it so. Have but ambition enough passionately to desire the object, and spirit enough to use the means, and I will be answerable for your success. When I was younger than you are, I resolved within myself that I would in all events be a speaker in Parliament, and a good one too, if I could. I consequently never lost sight of that object, and never neglected any of the means that I thought led to it. I succeeded to a certain degree, and I assure you with great ease, and without superior talents. Young people are very apt to overrate both men and things, from not being enough acquainted with them.

* So great was Sir William's "glibness of tongue," that his very fluency has been urged as his reproach; and Pope has coupled him with Bubb Dodington in one sarcastic line:

"The flowers of Bubo, and the flow of Yonge!"

In proportion as you come to know them better, you will value them less. You will find that reason, which always ought to direct mankind, seldom does; but that passions and weaknesses commonly usurp its seat, and rule in its stead. You will find that the ablest have their weak sides too, and are only comparatively able, with regard to the still weaker herd; having fewer weaknesses themselves they are able to avail themselves of the innumerable ones of the generality of mankind; being more masters of themselves, they become more easily masters of others. They address themselves to their weaknesses, their senses, their passions, never to their reason, and consequently seldom fail of success. But then analyse those great, those governing, and, as the vulgar imagine, those perfect characters; and you will find the great Brutus a thief in Macedonia, the great Cardinal de Richelieu a jealous poetaster, and the great Duke of Marlborough a miser. Till you come to know mankind by your own experience, I know nothing nor no man that can, in the mean time, bring you so well acquainted with them as le Due de la Rochefoucault; his little book of maxims, which I would advise you to look into, for some moments at least, every day of your life, is, I fear, too like, and too exact a picture of human nature. I own it seems to degrade it, but yet my experience does not convince me that it degrades it unjustly.

Now to bring all this home to my first point: all these considerations should not only invite you to attempt to make a figure in Parliament, but encourage you to hope that you shall succeed. To govern mankind, one must not overrate them; and to please an audience, as a speaker, one must not overvalue it.

When I first came into the House of Commons, I respected that assembly as a venerable one, and felt a certain awe upon me; but upon better acquaintance that awe soon vanished, and I discovered, that of the five hundred and sixty, not above thirty could understand reason, and that all the rest were *peuple*; that those thirty only required plain common sense, dressed up in good language; and that all the others only required flowing and harmonious periods, whether they conveyed any meaning or not; having ears to hear, but not sense enough to judge. These considerations made me speak with little concern the first time, with less the second, and with none at all the third. I gave myself no farther trouble about anything except my elocution and my style; presuming, without much vanity, that I had common sense sufficient not to talk nonsense. Fix these three truths strongly in your mind: first, that it is absolutely necessary for you to speak in Parliament; secondly, that it only requires a little human attention, and no supernatural gifts; and thirdly, that you have all the reason in the world to think that you shall speak well. When we meet, this shall be the principal subject of our conversations; and if you will follow my advice, I will answer for your success.

Now from great things to little ones; the transition is to me easy, because nothing seems little to me that can be of any use to you. I hope you take great care of your mouth and teeth, and that you clean them well every morning with a sponge and tepid water, with a few drops of arquebusade water dropped into it, besides washing your mouth carefully after every meal. I do insist upon your never using those sticks,

or any hard substance whatsoever, which always rub away the gums, and destroy the varnish of the teeth. I speak this from woeful experience; for my negligence of my teeth, when I was younger than you are, made them bad; and afterwards my desire to have them look better, made me use sticks, irons, &c., which totally destroyed them; so that I have not now above six or seven left. I lost one this morning, which suggested this advice to you.

I have received the tremendous wild boar which your still more tremendous arm slew in the immense deserts of the Palatinate; but have not yet tasted of it, as it is hitherto above my low regimen. The late King of Prussia, whenever he killed any number of wild boars, used to oblige the Jews to buy them, at a high price, though they could eat none of them; so they defrayed the expense of his hunting. His son has juster rules of government, as the *Code Frédéric* plainly shows.

I hope that by this time you are as well *ancré* at Berlin as you was at Munich; but if not, you are sure of being so at Dresden. Adieu!

London, February 26, 1754.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE received your letters of the 4th from Munich, and of the 11th from Ratisbon; but I have not received that of the 31st of January, to which you refer in the former. It is to this negligence and uncertainty of the post, that you owe your accidents between Munich and Ratisbon; for, had you received my letters regularly, you would have received one

from me, before you left Munich, in which I advised you to stay, since you were so well there. But at all events, you were in the wrong to set out from Munich in such weather and such roads; since you could never imagine that I had set my heart so much upon your going to Berlin, as to venture your being buried in the snow for it. Upon the whole, considering all, you are very well off. You do very well, in my mind, to return to Munich, or, at least, to keep within the circle of Munich, Ratisbon, and Manheim, till the weather and the roads are good: stay at each or any of those places as long as ever you please; for I am extremely indifferent about your going to Berlin.

As to our meeting, I will tell you my plan, and you may form your own accordingly. I propose setting out from hence the last week in April, then drinking the Aix-la-Chapelle waters for a week, and from thence being at Spa about the 15th of May, where I shall stay two months at most, and then returning straight to England. As I both hope and believe that there will be no mortal at Spa during my residence there, the fashionable season not beginning till the middle of July, I would by no means have you come there at first, to be locked up with me and some few *Capucins*, for two months, in that miserable hole; but I would advise you to stay where you like best, till about the first week in July, and then to come and pick me up at Spa, or meet me upon the road at Liege or Brussels. As for the intermediate time, should you be weary of Manheim and Munich, you may, if you please, go to Dresden to Sir Charles Williams, who will be there before that time; or you may come for a month or six weeks to the Hague;

or, in short, go or stay wherever you like best. So much for your motions.

As you have sent for all the letters directed to you at Berlin, you will receive from thence volumes of mine, among which you will easily perceive that some were calculated for a supposed perusal previous to your opening them. I will not repeat anything contained in them, excepting, that I desire you will send me a warm and cordial letter of thanks for Mr. Eliot; who has, in the most friendly manner imaginable, fixed you at his own borough of Liskeard, where you will be elected, jointly with him, without the least opposition or difficulty. I will forward that letter to him into Cornwall, where he now is.

Now, that you are to be soon a man of business, I heartily wish you would immediately begin to be a man of method; nothing contributing more to facilitate and dispatch business, than method and order. Have order and method in your accounts, in your reading, in the allotment of your time; in short, in everything. You cannot conceive how much time you will save by it, nor how much better everything you do will be done. The Duke of Marlborough* did by no means spend, but he slatterned himself into that immense debt, which is not yet near paid off. The hurry and confusion of the Duke of Newcastle do not proceed from his business, but from his want of method in it. Sir Robert Walpole, who had ten times the business to do, was never seen in a hurry,

* Charles Spencer, fourth Earl of Sunderland, succeeded, in 1733, as heir in the female line to the Dukedom of Marlborough. At his death, in 1758, he had attained high military rank, and even perhaps military reputation.

because he always did it with method. The head of a man who has business, and no method nor order, is properly that *rudis indigestaque moles quam dicere chaos*. As you must be conscious that you are extremely negligent and slatternly, I hope you will resolve not to be so for the future. Prevail with yourself, only to observe good method and order for one fortnight; and I will venture to assure you, that you will never neglect them afterwards, you will find such conveniency and advantage arising from them. Method is the great advantage that lawyers have over other people, in speaking in Parliament; for, as they must necessarily observe it in their pleadings in the Courts of Justice, it becomes habitual to them everywhere else. Without making you a compliment, I can tell you with pleasure, that order, method, and more activity of mind, are all that you want, to make, some day or other, a considerable figure in business. You have more useful knowledge, more discernment of characters, and much more discretion, than is common at your age; much more, I am sure, than I had at that age. Experience you cannot yet have, and therefore trust in the mean time to mine. I am an old traveller; am well acquainted with all the bye as well as the great roads; I cannot misguide you from ignorance, and you are very sure I shall not from design.

I can assure you, that you will have no opportunity of subscribing yourself, my Excellency's, &c.* Re-

* This passage shows that some overture was made, or expected to be made, to Lord Chesterfield to resume the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. Already, in 1750, he had refused the offer of a high Cabinet office, the Presidency of the Council. "Lord Chesterfield has do-

tiement and quiet were my choice some years ago, while I had all my senses, and health and spirits enough to carry on business; but now I have lost my hearing, and find my constitution declining daily, they are become my necessary and only refuge. I know myself, (no common piece of knowledge, let me tell you) I know what I can, what I cannot, and consequently what I ought to do. I ought not, and therefore will not, return to business, when I am much less fit for it than I was when I quitted it. Still less will I go to Ireland, where, from my deafness and infirmities, I must necessarily make a different figure from that which I once made there. My pride would be too much mortified by that difference. The two important senses of seeing and hearing should not only be good, but quick, in business; and the business of a Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (if he will do it himself) requires both those senses in the highest perfection. It was the Duke of Dorset's not doing the business himself, but giving it up to favourites, that has occasioned all this confusion in Ireland; and it was my doing the whole myself, without either Favourite, Minister, or Mistress, that made my administration so smooth and quiet. I remember, when I named

"clined it," writes Horace Walpole: "for he says he cannot hear causes "as he is grown deaf." (To Sir H. Mann, December 19, 1750.) A subsequent letter from Walpole shows that Lord Chesterfield gave another reason for his refusal; "he said he would not be President, "because he would not be between two fires"—meaning the Pelham brothers. He added: "The two brothers are like Arbuthnot's Lin—"damira and Indamora; the latter was a peaceable tractable gentle—"woman, but her sister was always quarrelling and kicking; and as "they grew together there was no parting them!" (Walpole to Mann, December 22, 1750.) On Lord Chesterfield's refusal, the office was conferred upon Lord Granville.

the late Mr. Liddel* for my Secretary, everybody was much surprised at it; and some of my friends represented to me, that he was no man of business, but only a very genteel, pretty young fellow; I assured them, and with truth, that that was the very reason why I chose him; for that I was resolved to do all the business myself, and without even the suspicion of having a Minister; which the Lord-Lieutenant's Secretary, if he is a man of business, is always supposed, and commonly with reason, to be. Moreover, I look upon myself now to be *emeritus* in business, in which I have been near forty years together; I give it up to you: apply yourself to it, as I have done, for forty years, and then I consent to your leaving it for a philosophical retirement, among your friends and your books. Statesmen and beauties are very rarely sensible of the gradations of their decay; and, too sanguinely hoping to shine on in their meridian, often set with contempt and ridicule. I retired in time, *uti conviva satur*; or, as Pope says, still better, "*E'er glittering youth shall shove you from the stage.*" My only remaining ambition is to be the counsellor and minister of your rising ambition. Let me see my own youth revived in you; let me be your Mentor, and with your parts and knowledge, I promise you, you shall go far. You must bring, on your part, activity and attention, and I will point out to you the proper objects for them. I own, I fear but one thing for you, and that is what one has generally the least reason to fear from one of your age; I mean your laziness; which, if you indulge, will make you stagnate in a

* Richard Liddel, Esq., member of Parliament for Bosciney, in Cornwall. He died in June, 1746.

contemptible obscurity all your life. It will hinder you from doing anything that will deserve to be written, or from writing anything that may deserve to be read; and yet one or other of these two objects should be at least aimed at by every rational being.

I look upon indolence as a sort of suicide; for the man is effectually destroyed, though the appetites of the brute may survive. Business by no means forbids pleasures; on the contrary, they reciprocally season each other; and I will venture to affirm, that no man enjoys either in perfection, that does not join both. They whet the desire for each other. Use yourself, therefore, in time, to be alert and diligent in your little concerns: never procrastinate, never put off till to-morrow, what you can do to-day; and never do two things at a time: pursue your object, be it what it will, steadily and indefatigably; and let any difficulties (if surmountable) rather animate than slacken your endeavours. Perseverance has surprising effects.

I wish you would use yourself to translate, every day, only three or four lines, from any book, in any language, into the correctest and most elegant English that you can think of; you cannot imagine how it will insensibly form your style, and give you an habitual elegancy: it would not take you up a quarter of an hour in a day. This letter is so long, that it will hardly leave you that quarter of an hour, the day you receive it. So good-night.

MAXIMS OF CARDINAL DE RETZ.

(EXTRACTED FROM HIS MEMOIRS BY LORD CHESTERFIELD.)

1. IL y a souvent de la folie à conjurer ; mais il n'y a rien de pareil pour faire les gens sages dans la suite : au moins pour quelque tems. Comme le péril dans ces sortes d'affaires dure même après les occasions, l'on est prudent et circonspect dans les momens qui les suivent.

2. Un esprit médiocre, et susceptible par conséquent d'injustes défiances, est de tous les caractères celui qui est le plus opposé à un bon chef de parti ; dont la qualité la plus souvent et la plus indispensablement nécessaire, est de supprimer en beaucoup d'occasions, et de cacher en toutes, les soupçons même les plus légitimes.

3. Rien n'anime et n'appuye plus un mouvement, que le ridicule de celui contre lequel on le fait.

4. Le secret n'est pas si rare qu'on le croit, entre des gens qui sont accoutumés à se mêler des grandes affaires.

5. Descendre jusqu'aux petits est le plus sûr moyen de s'égalier aux grands.

6. La mode qui a du pouvoir en toutes choses, ne l'a si sensiblement en aucune, qu'à être bien ou mal à la Cour : il y a des tems où la disgrâce est une manière de feu qui purifie toutes les mauvaises qualités, et qui illumine toutes les bonnes ; il y a des tems où il ne sied pas bien à un honnête homme d'être disgracié.

7. La souffrance aux personnes d'un grand rang, tient lieu d'une grande vertu.

8. Il y a une espèce de galimatias que la pratique fait connoître quelquefois, mais que la spéculation ne fait jamais entendre.

9. Toutes les Puissances ne peuvent rien contre la

réputation d'un homme qui se la conserve dans son Corps.

10. On est aussi souvent dupe par la défiance que par la confiance.

11. L'extrémité du mal n'est jamais à son période, que quand ceux qui commandent ont perdu la honte ; parce que c'est justement le moment dans lequel ceux qui obéissent perdent le respect ; et c'est dans ce même moment que l'on revient de la léthargie : mais par des convulsions.

12. Il y a un voile qui doit toujours couvrir tout ce que l'on peut dire, et tout ce que l'on peut croire, du Droit des Peuples et de celui des Rois, qui ne s'accordent jamais si bien ensemble que dans le silence.

13. Il y a des conjonctures dans lesquelles on ne peut plus faire que des fautes ; mais la fortune ne met jamais les hommes dans cet état, qui est de tous le plus malheureux, et personne n'y tombe que ceux qui s'y précipitent par leur faute.

14. Il sied plus mal à un Ministre de dire des sottises, que d'en faire.

15. Les avis que l'on donne à un Ministre passent pour des crimes, toutes les fois qu'on ne le lui est point agréable.

16. Auprès des Princes, il est aussi dangereux, et presque aussi criminel, de pouvoir le bien que de vouloir le mal.

17. Il est bien plus naturel à la peur de consulter que de décider.

18. Cette circonstance paroît ridicule ; mais elle est fondée. A Paris, dans les émotions populaires, les plus échauffés ne veulent pas, ce qu'ils appellent, *se déshonorer*.

19. La flexibilité est de toutes les qualités la plus nécessaire pour le maniement des grandes affaires.

20. On a plus de peine dans les partis, de vivre avec ceux qui en sont, que d'agir contre ceux qui y sont opposés.

21. Les plus grands dangers ont leurs charmes, pour peu que l'on apperçoive de gloire dans la perspective des mauvais succès; les médiocres dangers n'ont que des horreurs, quand la perte de la réputation est attachée à la mauvaise fortune.

22. Les extrêmes sont toujours fâcheux. Mais ce sont des moyens sages quand ils sont nécessaires: ce qu'ils ont de consolant c'est qu'ils ne sont jamais médiocres, et qu'ils sont décisifs quand ils sont bons.

23. Il y a des conjonctures où la prudence même ordonne de ne consulter que le chapitre des accidens.

24. Il n'y a rien dans le monde qui n'ait son moment décisif; et le chef d'œuvre de la bonne conduite, est de connoître et de prendre ce moment.

25. L'abomination joint au ridicule fait le plus dangereux et le plus irremédiable de tous les composés.

26. Les gens foibles ne plient jamais quand ils le doivent.

27. Rien ne touche et n'émeut tant les peuples, et même les Compagnies, qui tiennent beaucoup du peuple, que la variété des spectacles.

28. Les exemples du passé touchent sans comparaison plus les hommes, que ceux de leur siècle: nous nous accoutumons à tout ce que nous voyons; et peut-être que le Consulat du Cheval de Caligula ne nous auroit pas tant surpris, que nous nous l'imaginons.

29. Les hommes foibles se laissent aller ordinairement au plus grand bruit.

30. Il ne faut jamais contester ce qu'on ne croit pas pouvoir obtenir.

31. Le moment où l'on reçoit les plus heureuses nouvelles, est justement celui où il faut redoubler son attention pour les petites.

32. Le pouvoir dans les peuples est fâcheux, en ce qu'il nous rend responsables de ce qu'ils font malgré nous.

33. L'une des plus grandes incommodités des guerres civiles, est, qu'il faut encore plus d'application à ce que l'on ne doit pas dire à ses amis, qu'à ce que l'on doit faire contre ses ennemis.

34. Il n'y a point de qualité qui dépare tant un grand homme, que de n'être pas juste à prendre le moment décisif de la réputation. L'on ne le manque presque jamais que pour mieux prendre celui de la fortune ; c'est en quoi l'on se trompe, pour l'ordinaire, doublement.

35. La vue la plus commune dans les imprudences c'est celle que l'on a de la possibilité des ressources.

36. Toute Compagnie est peuple ; ainsi tout y dépend des instans.

37. Tout ce qui paroît hazardeux, et qui pourtant ne l'est pas, est presque toujours sage.

38. Les gens irrésolus prennent toujours, avec facilité, les ouvertures qui les mènent à deux chemins, et qui par conséquent ne les pressent pas d'opter.

39. Il n'y a point de petits pas dans les grandes affaires.

40. Il y a des tems où certaines gens ont toujours raison.

41. Rien ne persuade tant les gens qui ont peu de sens que ce qu'ils n'entendent pas.

42. Il n'est pas sage de faire, dans les factions, où l'on n'est que sur la défensive, ce qui n'est pas pressé. Mais l'inquiétude des subalternes est la chose la plus incommode dans ces rencontres; ils croient que dès qu'on n'agit pas, on est perdu.

43. Les chefs dans les factions n'en sont les maîtres, qu'autant qu'ils savent prévenir ou appaiser les murmures.

44. Quand la frayeur est venue à un certain point, elle produit les mêmes effets que la témérité.

45. Il est aussi nécessaire de choisir les mots dans les grandes affaires, qu'il est superflu de les choisir dans les petites.

46. Rien n'est plus rare ni plus difficile aux Ministres qu'un certain ménagement dans le calme qui suit immédiatement les grandes tempêtes, parceque la flatterie y redouble, et que la défiance n'y est pas éteinte.

47. Il ne faut pas nous choquer si fort des fautes de ceux qui sont nos amis, que nous en donnions de l'avantage à ceux contre lesquels nous agissons.

48. Le talent d'insinuer est plus utile que celui de persuader, parceque l'on peut insinuer à tout le monde, et que l'on ne persuade presque jamais personne.

49. Dans les matières qui ne sont pas favorables par elles-mêmes, tout changement qui n'est pas nécessaire est pernicieux, parcequ'il est odieux.

50. Il faut faire voir à ceux qui sont naturellement faibles toutes sortes d'abîmes : parceque c'est le vrai moyen de les obliger de se jeter dans le premier chemin qu'on leur ouvre.

51. L'on doit hazarder le possible toutes les fois que

l'on se sent en état de profiter même du manquement de succès.

52. Les hommes irrésolus se déterminent difficilement pour les moyens, quoique même ils soient déterminés pour la fin.

53. C'est presque jeu sûr avec les hommes fourbes, de leur faire croire que l'on veut tromper ceux que l'on veut servir.

54. L'un des plus grands embarras que l'on ait avec les Princes, c'est que l'on est souvent obligé, par la considération de leur propre service, de leur donner des conseils dont on ne peut pas leur dire les véritables raisons.

55. Quand on se trouve obligé de faire un discours que l'on prévoit ne devoir pas agréer, l'on ne peut lui donner trop d'apparence de sincérité : parceque c'est l'unique moyen de l'adoucir.

56. On ne doit jamais se jouer avec la faveur : on ne la peut trop embrasser quand elle est véritable ; on ne la peut trop éloigner quand elle est fausse.

57. Il y a de l'inconvénient à s'engager sur des suppositions de ce que l'on croit impossible ; et pourtant il n'y a rien de si commun.

58. La plupart des hommes examinent moins les raisons de ce qu'on leur propose contre leur sentiment, que celles qui peuvent obliger celui qui les propose de s'en servir.

59. Tout ce qui est vuide dans les tems de faction et d'intrigue, passe pour mystérieux dans les esprits de ceux qui ne sont pas accoutumés aux grandes affaires.

60. Il n'est jamais permis à un inférieur de s'égaliser en paroles à celui à qui il doit du respect, quoiqu'il s'y égale dans l'action.

61. Tout homme que la fortune seule, par quelque accident, a fait homme public, devient presque toujours avec un peu de tems un particulier ridicule.

62. La plus grande imperfection des hommes est la complaisance, qu'ils trouvent, à se persuader que les autres ne sont point exempts des défauts qu'ils se reconnoissent à eux mêmes.

63. Il n'y a que l'expérience qui puisse apprendre aux hommes à ne pas préférer ce qui les pique dans le présent à ce qui les doit toucher bien plus essentiellement dans l'avenir.

64. Il faut s'appliquer, avec soin, dans les grandes affaires encore plus que dans les autres, à se défendre du goût qu'on trouve pour la plaisanterie.

65. On ne peut assez peser les moindres mots dans les grandes affaires.

66. Il n'y a que la continuation du bonheur qui fixe la plupart des amitiés.

67. Quiconque assemble le peuple, l'émeut.

I HAVE taken the trouble of extracting and collecting, for your use, the foregoing political Maxims of the Cardinal de Retz, in his Memoirs. They are not aphorisms of his invention, but the true and just observations of his own experience in the course of great business. My own experience attests the truth of them all. Read them over with attention as here above, and then read with the same attention, and *tout de suite*, the Memoirs; where you will find the facts and characters from whence those observations are drawn, or to which they are applied; and they will reciprocally help to fix each other in your mind. I hardly know any book so necessary for a young man to read and remember. You will there find how great busi-

ness is really carried on; very differently from what people, who have never been concerned in it, imagine. You will there see what Courts and Courtiers really are, and observe that they are neither so good as they should be, nor so bad as they are thought by most people. The Court poet, and the sullen cloistered pedant, are equally mistaken in their notions, or at least in the accounts they give us of them. You will observe the coolness in general, the perfidy in some cases, and the truth in a very few, of Court friendships. This will teach you the prudence of a general distrust; and the imprudence of making no exception to that rule upon good and tried grounds. You will see the utility of good-breeding towards one's greatest enemies; and the high imprudence and folly of either insulting or injurious expressions. You will find, in the Cardinal's own character, a strange, but by no means an uncommon mixture, of high and low, good and bad, parts and indiscretion. In the character of Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans, you may observe the model of weakness, irresolution, and fear, though with very good parts. In short, you will, in every page of that book, see that strange inconsistent creature, Man, just as he is. If you would know that period of history (and it is well worth knowing) correctly, after you have read the Cardinal's Memoirs, you should read those of Joly, and of Madame de Motteville; both which throw great light upon the first. By all those accounts put together, it appears that Anne of Austria (with great submission to a crowned head do I say it) was a b——. She had spirit and courage without parts, devotion without common morality, and lewdness without tenderness either to justify or to dig-

nify it. Her two sons were no more Louis the Thirteenth's than they were mine; and, if Buckingham had staid a little longer, she would probably have had another by him.

Cardinal Mazarin was a great knave, but no great man; much more cunning than able; scandalously false, and dirtily greedy. As for his enemy, Cardinal de Retz, I can truly call him a man of great parts, but I cannot call him a great man. He never was so much so as in his retirement. The ladies had then a great, and have always had some share in State affairs in France; the spring and the streams of their politics have always been, and always will be, the interest of their present lover, or their resentment against a discarded and perfidious one. Money is their great object, of which they are extremely greedy, if it coincides with their arrangement with the lover for the time being: but true glory and public good never enter into their heads. They are always governed by the man they love, and they always govern the man who loves them. He or she who loves the most is always governed by him or her who loves the least. Madame de Montbazou governed Monsieur de Beaufort, who was fond of her; whereas she was only proud of his rank and popularity. The *Drudi* for the time being always governed Madame and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, and steered their politics. Madame de Longueville governed her brother the Prince de Conti, who was in love with her; but Marsillac, with whom she was in love, governed her. In all female politics, the head is certainly not the part that takes the lead: the true and secret spring lies lower and deeper. La Palatine, whom the Cardinal celebrates as the ablest and most

sensible woman he ever met with, and who seems to have acted more systematically and consequentially than any of them, starts aside, however, and deviates from her plan, whenever the interests or the inclinations of La Vieuville, her lover, require it. I will add (though with great submission to a late friend of yours at Paris) that no woman ever yet either reasoned or acted long together consequentially; but some little thing, some love, some resentment, some present momentary interest, some supposed slight, or some humour, always breaks in upon, and oversets, their most prudent resolutions and schemes.

AXIOMS IN TRADE.

(DRAWN UP BY LORD CHESTERFIELD FOR HIS SON.)

To sell, upon the whole, more than you buy.

To buy your materials as cheap, and to sell your manufactures as dear as you can.

To ease the manufacturers, as much as possible, of all taxes and burthens.

To lay small or no duties upon your own manufactures exported, and to lay high duties upon all foreign manufactures imported.

To lay small or no duties upon foreign materials that are necessary for your own manufactures; but to lay very high duties upon, or rather totally prohibit, the exportation of such of your own materials as are necessary for the manufactures of other countries, as wool, fuller's earth, &c.

To keep the interest of money low, that people may place their money in trade.

Not to imagine (as people commonly do) that it is either prudent or possible to prohibit the exportation of your gold and silver, whether coined or uncoined. For, if the balance of trade be against you, that is, if you buy more than you sell, you must necessarily make up that difference in money; and your bullion or your coin, which are in effect the same thing, must and will be exported, in spite of all laws. But if you sell more than you buy, then foreigners must do the same by you, and make up their deficiency in bullion or coin. Gold and silver are but merchandise, as well as cloth or linen; and that nation that buys the least, and sells the most, must always have the most money.

A free trade is always carried on with more advantage to the public than an exclusive one by a company. But the particular circumstances of some trades may sometimes require a joint stock and exclusive privileges.

All monopolies are destructive to trade.

To get, as much as possible, the advantages of manufacturing and freight.

To contrive to undersell other nations in foreign markets.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES.

The following account of the Dutch Republic was drawn up by Lord Chesterfield, at the Hague. It was found amongst Mr. Philip Stanhope's papers, and had, no doubt, been sent to him for his instruction. The Notes (distinguished in this Edition by the initial C.) were added by Lord Chesterfield himself at a later period than the text, probably in 1751, on the death of the Prince of Orange, as appears by his mention of H. B. H. the *Gouvernante*.

THE Government of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces is thought by many to be Democratical; but it is merely Aristocratical;* the People not having the least share in it, either themselves, or by representatives of their own choosing: they have nothing to do but to pay and grumble.

The Sovereign Power is commonly thought to be in the States General, *as they are called*, residing at the Hague. It is no such thing; they are only limited Deputies, obliged to consult their Constituents upon every point of any importance that occurs. It is very true that the Sovereign Power is lodged in the States General; but who are those States General? Not those who are commonly called so; but the Senate, Council, or *Vrootschaps*, call it what you will,

* The Members of the Senate, or *Vrootschaps*, were originally elected by the Burghers, in a general, and often a tumultuous assembly: but now, for near two hundred years, the *Vrootschaps* found means to persuade the people that these elections were troublesome and dangerous; and kindly took upon themselves to elect their own Members, upon vacancies, and to keep their own body full, without troubling the people with an election: it was then that the Aristocracy was established.—C.

of every town, in every Province that sends Deputies to the Provincial States of the said Province. These *Vrootschaps* are in truth the States General; but, were they to assemble, they would amount, for aught I know, to two or three thousand: it is, therefore, for convenience and dispatch of business, that every Province sends Deputies to the Hague, who are constantly assembled there; who are commonly called the States General; and in whom many people falsely imagine that the Sovereign Power is lodged. These Deputies are chosen by the *Vrootschaps*; but their powers are extremely circumscribed; and they consent to nothing,* without writing, or returning themselves, to their several constituent towns, for instructions in that particular case. They are authorised to concur in matters of order; that is, to continue things in the common, current, ordinary train; but for the least innovation, the least step out of the ordinary course, new instructions must be given, either to deliberate or to conclude.

Many people are ignorant enough to take the Province of Holland, singly, for the Republic of the Seven United Provinces; and when they mean to speak of the Republic, they say, *Holland* † will, or

* When the Deputies of the States signed the Triple Alliance with Sir William Temple, in two or three days' time, and without consulting their Principals, (however Sir William Temple values himself upon it,) in reality, they only signed *sub spe rati*. The act was not valid; and, had it not been ratified by the several Constituents of the several Provinces, it had been *as non arum*. The Deputies, who signed that treaty *sub spe rati*, knew well enough that, considering the nature of the treaty, and the then situation of affairs, they should not only be avowed, but approved of, by their Masters the States.—C.

† When the Province of Holland has once taken an important resolution, of Peace, or War, or Accession to any treaty, it is very probable

will not, do such a thing: but most people are ignorant enough to imagine, that the Province of Holland has a legal, a constitutional power over the other six; whereas, by the Act of Union, the little Province of *Groningen* is as much Sovereign as the Province of Holland. The Seven Provinces are Seven distinct Sovereignties, confederated together in one Republic; no one having any superiority over, or dependence upon, any other: nay, in point of precedence, Holland is but the second, *Gueldres* being the first. It is very natural to suppose, and it is very true in fact, that

that the other Provinces will come into that measure, but by no means certain: it is often a great while first; and when the little Provinces know that the Province of Holland has their concurrence much at heart, they will often annex conditions to it; as the little towns in Holland frequently do, when the great ones want their concurrence. As for instance; when I was soliciting the accession of the Republic to the treaty of Vienna, in 1731, which the Pensionary, Comte Sinzen-dorf, and I, had made secretly at the Hague; all the towns in Holland came pretty readily into it, except the little town of *Briel*; whose Deputies frankly declared, that they would not give their consent, till *Major such-a-one*, a very honest gentleman of their town, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and that, as soon as that was done, they would agree, for they approved of the treaty. This was accordingly done in two or three days, and then they agreed. This is a strong instance of the absurdity of the unanimity required, and of the use that is often made of it. However, should one, or even two, of the lesser Provinces, who contribute little, and often pay less, to the public charge, obstinately and frivolously, or perhaps corruptly, persist in opposing a measure which Holland and the other more considerable Provinces thought necessary, and had agreed to, they would send a Deputation to those opposing Provinces, to reason with, and persuade them to concur; but, if this would not do, they would, as they have done in many instances, conclude without them. The same thing is done in the Provincial States of the respective Provinces; where, if one or two of the least considerable towns pertinaciously oppose a necessary measure, they conclude without them. But, as this is absolutely unconstitutional, it is avoided as much as possible, and a complete unanimity procured, if it can be, by such little concessions as that which I have mentioned to the *Briel* Major.—C.

Holland, from its superiority of strength and riches, and paying 58 per cent., should have great weight and influence in the other six Provinces; but power it has none.

The unanimity, which is constitutionally requisite for every act of each Town, and each Province, separately, and then for every act of the Seven collectively, is something so absurd, and so impracticable in government, that one is astonished that even the form of it has been tolerated so long; for the substance is not strictly observed. And five Provinces will often conclude, though two dissent, provided that Holland and Zealand are two of the five; as fourteen or fifteen of the principal towns of Holland will conclude an affair notwithstanding the opposition of four or five of the lesser. I cannot help conjecturing that William, the first Prince of Orange, called the *Taciturn*, the ablest man, without dispute, of the age he lived in, not excepting even the Admiral Coligny,* and who had the modelling of the Republic as he pleased; I conjecture, I say, that the Prince of Orange would never have suffered such an absurdity to have crippled that government which he was at the head of, if he had not thought it useful to himself and his family. He covered the greatest ambition with the greatest modesty, and declined the insignificant, outward signs, as much as he desired the solid substance of power: might he not therefore think, that this absurd, though requisite

* I am persuaded, that, had the *Taciturn* been in the place of the Admiral Coligny, he would never have been prevailed upon to have come to Paris, and to have put himself into the power of those two monsters of perfidy and cruelty, Catharina of Medicis and Charles the Ninth. His prudent escape from Flanders is a proof of it; when he rather chose to be *Prince sans terre* than *Prince sans titre*.—C.

unanimity, made a Stadtholder absolutely necessary to render the government practicable? In which case he was very sure the Stadtholder would always be taken out of his family; and he minded things, not names. The Pensionary * thinks this conjecture probable; and, as we were talking the other day confidentially upon this subject, we both agreed that this monstrous and impracticable unanimity, required by the constitution, was alone sufficient to bring about a Stadtholder in spite of all the measures of the Republican party to prevent it. He confessed to me, that, upon his being made Pensionary, he entered into solemn engagements not to contribute, directly nor indirectly, to any change of the present form of government, and that he would scrupulously observe those engagements; but that he foresaw the defects in their form of government, and the abuses crept into every part of it, would infallibly produce a Stadtholder,† tumultuously imposed upon the Republic by an insurrection of the populace, as in the case of King William. I told him that, in my opinion, if that were to happen a second time, the Stadtholder so made would be their King.‡ He said he believed so

* Monsieur Slingelandt, the ablest Minister, and the honestest man I ever knew. I may justly call him my Friend, my Master, and my Guide; for I was then quite new in business: he instructed me, he loved, he trusted me.—C.

† It has since appeared that he judged very rightly.—C.

‡ And so he ought to be now, even for the sake and preservation of the Seven Provinces. The necessary principle of a Republic, *Virtue*, subsists no longer there. The great riches of private people (though the public is poor) have long ago extinguished that principle, and destroyed the equality necessary to a Commonwealth. A Commonwealth is unquestionably, upon paper, the most rational and equitable form of government; but it is as unquestionably impracticable, in all countries where riches have introduced luxury, and a great inequality

too, and that he had urged all this to the most considerable Members of the Government, and the most jealous Republicans. That he had even formed a plan, which he had laid before them, as the only possible one to prevent this impending danger. That a Stadtholder was originally the chief spring upon which their government turned; and that, if they would have no Stadtholder, they must substitute a *succedaneum*. That one part of that *succedaneum* must be to abolish the unanimity required by the present form of government, and which only a Stadtholder could render practicable by his influence. That the abuses which were crept into the military part of the government must be corrected, or that they alone, if they were suffered to go on, would make a Stadtholder; in order that the army and the navy, which the public paid for, might be of some use, which at present they were not. That he had laid these and many other considerations of the like nature before them, in the hopes of one of these two things: either to prevail with them to make a Stadtholder unnecessary, by a just reformation of the abuses of the government, and substituting a majority, or at most two-thirds, to the absurd and impracticable unanimity now requisite; or, if they would not come

of conditions. It will only do in those countries that poverty keeps virtuous. In England, it would very soon grow a tyrannical Aristocracy; soon afterwards, an Oligarchy; and soon after that, an absolute Monarchy: from the same causes that Denmark, in the last century, became so,—the intolerable oppression of the bulk of the people, from those whom they looked upon as their equals. If the young Stadtholder has abilities, he will, when he grows up, get all the powers of a limited Monarchy, such as England, no matter under what name; and, if he is really wise, he will desire no more: if the people are wise, they will give it him.—C.

into these preventive regulations, that they would treat amicably with the Prince of Orange and give him the *Stadtholderate*, under strict limitations, and with effectual provisions for their liberty. But they would listen to neither of these expedients: the first affected the private interests of most of the considerable people of the Republic, whose power and profit arose from those abuses; and the second was too contrary to the violent passions and prejudices of Messrs. d'Obdam, Booteslaer, Hallewyn, and other Heads of the high Republican party. Upon this I said to the Pensionary, that he had fully proved to me, not only that there would, but that there ought to be, a Stadtholder. He replied, "There will most certainly be one, and you are young enough to live to see it. I hope I shall be out of the way first; but if I am not out of the world at that time, I will be out of my place, and pass the poor remainder of my life in quiet. I only pray that our new Master, whenever we have him, may be gently given us. My friend, the Greffier,* thinks a Stadtholder absolutely necessary to save the Republic, and so do I as much as he, if they will not accept of the other expedient; but we are in very different situations; he is under no engagements to the contrary, and I am." He then asked me, in confidence, whether I had any instructions to promote the Prince of Orange's views and interest. I told him truly I had not; but that, however, I would

* The Greffier Fagel, who had been *Greffier*, that is Secretary of State, above fifty years. He had the deepest knowledge of business, and the soundest judgment, of any man I ever knew in my life; but he had not that quick, that intuitive sagacity, which the Pensionary Stingelandt had. He has often owned to me, that he thought things were gone too far for any other remedy but a Stadtholder.—C.

do it, as far as ever I could, quietly and privately. That he himself had convinced me, that it was for the interest of the Republic, which I honoured and wished well to; and also that it would be a much more efficient Ally to England, under that form of government. "I must own," replied he, "that at present we "have neither strength, secrecy, nor dispatch." I said that I knew but too well, by my own experience; and I added (laughing) that I looked upon him as the Prince of Orange's greatest enemy; and upon that Prince's violent and impetuous enemies* to be his

* These hot-headed Republicans pushed things with the unjustest acrimony against the Prince of Orange. They denied him his rank in the army; and they kept him out of the possession of the Marquisat of Tervere and Fleming, which were his own patrimony; and by these means gave him the merit with the people, of being unjustly oppressed. Had he been an abler man himself, or better advised by others, he might have availed himself much more solidly than he did, of the affection, or rather the fury, of the people, in his favour, when they tumultuously made him Stadtholder; but he did not know the value and importance of those warm moments, in which he might have fixed and clinched his power. Dazzled with the show and trappings of power, he did not enough attend to the substance. He attempted a thing impossible, which was, to please every body: he heard every body, began every thing, and finished nothing. When the people, in their fury, made him Stadtholder, they desired nothing better than totally to dissolve the Republican form of government. He should have let them. The tumultuous love of the populace must be seized and enjoyed in its first transports; there is no hoarding of it to use upon occasions; it will not keep. The most considerable people of the former government would gladly have compounded for their lives, and would have thought themselves very well off in the castle of Louvetein; where one of the Prince of Orange's predecessors sent some of their ancestors, in times much less favourable. An affected moderation made him lose that moment. The government is now in a disjointed, loose state. Her R. H. the Gouvernante has not power enough to do much good; and yet she has more power than authority. Peace and economy, both public and domestic, should, therefore, be the sole objects of her politics, during the minority of her son. The Public is almost a bankrupt; and her son's private fortune extremely

best friends; for that, if his (the Pensionary's) plan were to take place, the Prince would have very little hopes. He interrupted me here, with saying, *Ne craignez rien, Milord, de ce côté là ; mon plan blesse trop l'intérêt particulier, pour être reçu à présent que l'amour du public n'existe plus.* I thought this conversation too remarkable not to write down the heads of it when I came home.

The Republic has hardly any Navy at all; the single fund for the Marine being the small duties upon exports and imports; which duties are not half collected, by the connivance of the Magistrates themselves, who are interested in smuggling: so that the Republic has now no other title but courtesy to the name of a Maritime Power. Their trade decreases daily, and their national debt increases. I have good reason to believe that it amounts to at least fifty millions sterling.

The decrease of their Herring-fishery, from what it appears by Monsieur De Witt's Memoirs of Holland in his time, is incredible; and will be much greater now we are at last wise enough to take our own herrings upon our own coasts.

They do not now get by freight one quarter of what they used to get: they were the general sea-carriers of all Europe. The Act of Navigation passed in Cromwell's time, and afterwards confirmed in Charles the Second's, gave the first blow to that branch of their profit; and now we carry more than they do. Their only profitable remaining branches

incumbered. She has sense and ambition; but it is, still, the sense and ambition of a woman; that is, *inconsequential*. What remains to be done, requires a firm, manly, and vigorous mind.—C.

of commerce are, their trade to the East Indies, where they have engrossed the spices; and their illicit trade in America from Surinam, St. Eustatia, Curaçoa, &c.

Their woollen and silk manufactures bear not the least comparison with ours, neither in quantity, quality, nor exportation.

Their *police* is still excellent, and is now the only remains of that prudence, vigilance, and good discipline, which formerly made them esteemed, respected and courted.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.

(DRAWN UP BY LORD CHESTERFIELD FOR HIS SON, AND ENCLOSED
IN HIS LETTER OF AUGUST 2, 1748.)

IN the ages of ignorance, which is always the mother of superstition, it was thought not only just, but meritorious, to propagate religion by fire and sword, and to take away the lives and properties of unbelievers. This enthusiasm produced the several Croisadoes in the eleventh, twelfth, and following centuries; the object of which was to recover the Holy Land out of the hands of the Infidels, who, by the way, were the lawful possessors. Many honest enthusiasts engaged in these Croisadoes, from a mistaken principle of religion, and from the pardons granted by the Popes for all the sins of those pious adventurers; but many more knaves adopted these holy wars in hopes of conquest and plunder.

After Godfrey of Bouillon, at the head of these knaves and fools, had taken Jerusalem, in the year 1099, Christians of various nations remained in that city; among the rest, one good honest German, that

took particular care of his countrymen who came hither in pilgrimages. He built a house for their reception, and an hospital dedicated to the Virgin. This little establishment soon became a great one by the enthusiasm of many considerable people who engaged in it, in order to drive the Saracens out of the Holy Land. This society then began to take its first form; and its members were called Marian Teutonic Knights: Marian, from their chapel, sacred to the Virgin Mary,—Teutonic, from the German, or Teuton, who was the author of it,—and Knights, from the wars which they were to carry on against the Infidels.

These Knights behaved themselves so bravely at first, that Duke Frederick of Suabia, who was general of the German army, in the Holy Land, sent, in the year 1191, to the Emperor Henry VI. and Pope Celestin III. to desire that this brave and charitable fraternity might be incorporated into a regular Order of Knighthood; which was accordingly done, and rules and a particular habit were given them. Forty Knights, all of noble families, were at first created by the King of Jerusalem, and other princes then in the army. The first Grand Master of this Order was Henry Wallpot, of a noble family upon the Rhine. This Order soon began to operate in Europe, drove all the Pagans out of Prussia, and took possession of it. Soon after, they got Livonia and Courland, and invaded even Russia, where they introduced the Christian religion. In 1510, they elected Albert Marquis of Brandenburg for their Grand Master, who, turning Protestant, soon afterwards took Prussia from the Order, and kept it for himself with

the consent of Sigismund, King of Poland, of whom it was to hold. He then quitted his Grand-Mastership, and made himself Hereditary Duke of that country, which is thence called Ducal Prussia. This Order now consists of twelve provinces: viz. Alsatia, Austria, Coblentz, and Etsch, which are the four under the Prussian jurisdiction; Franconia, Hesse, Biessen, Westphalia, Lorrain, Thuringia, Saxony, and Utrecht, which eight are of the German jurisdiction. The Dutch now possess all that the Order had in Utrecht. Every one of these provinces have their particular *Commanderies*; and the most ancient of these *Commandeurs* is called the *Commandeur Provincial*. These twelve *Commandeurs* are all subordinate to the Grand Master of Germany as their chief, and have the right of electing the Grand Master. The Elector of Cologne is at present *Grand Maître*.

This Order, founded by mistaken Christian zeal upon the Antichristian principles of violence and persecution, soon grew strong by the weakness and ignorance of the times, acquired unjustly great possessions, of which they justly lost the greatest part by their ambition and cruelty, which made them feared and hated by all their neighbours.

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S

LETTERS TO HIS GODSON, ON THE ART OF PLEASING.

The series of fourteen Letters which follow, was addressed by Lord Chesterfield to Philip Stanhope, his godson and distant kinsman, who became his heir and successor to the Earldom. They have been published in the supplementary quarto volume to Lord Chesterfield's Works, a volume which (as already stated in the Preface) has now become extremely rare. There is no date of year or month to these letters, but as the third letter refers to Philip Stanhope as having just completed his tenth year, and as he was born in November 1766, they must have been written in 1765 and 1766.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

OUR correspondence has hitherto been very desultory and various. My letters have had little or no relation to each other, and I endeavoured to suit them to your age and passion for variety. I considered you as a child, and trifled with you accordingly; and, though I cannot yet look upon you as a man, I shall consider you as being capable of some serious reflection. You are now above half a man, and before your present age is doubled you will be quite a man: therefore, *Paulo majora canamus*.

You already know your religious and moral duties, which, indeed, are exceedingly simple and plain: the former consists in fearing and loving your Creator,

and in observing His laws, which He has written in every man's heart, and which your conscience will always remind you of, if you give it but a fair hearing; the latter, I mean your moral duties, are fully contained in these few words, *Do as you would be done by*. Your classical knowledge, others more able than myself will instruct you in. There remains, therefore, nothing in which I can be useful to you, except to communicate to your youth and inexperience what a long observation and knowledge of the world enables me to give you.

I shall then, for the future, write you a series of letters, which I desire you will read twice over, and keep by you, upon the *duty*, the *utility*, and the *means* of pleasing—that is, of being what the French call *aimable*; an art which, it must be owned, they possess almost exclusively: they have studied it the most, and they practise it the best. I shall, therefore, often borrow their expressions in the following letters, as answering my ideas better than any I can find in my own language.

Remember this, and fix it in your mind, that whoever is not *aimable*, is in truth *nobody at all*, with regard to the general intercourse of life: his learning is pedantry, and even his virtue has no lustre. Perhaps my subject may oblige me to say things above your present *forte*; but, in proportion as your understanding opens and extends itself, you will understand them; and then *Hæc olim meminisse juvabit*.

I presume you will not expect elegance, or even accuracy, in letters of this kind, which I write singly for your use. I give you my matter just as it occurs to me. May it be useful to you!

P.S.—If you were in this place, it would quite turn your little head; here would be so much of your dear variety, that you would think rather less, if possible, than most of the company who saunter away their whole time and do nothing.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

THE desire of being pleased is universal; the desire of pleasing should be so too: it is included in that great and fundamental principle of morality, of doing to others what one wishes they should do to us. There are, indeed, some moral duties of a much higher nature, but none of a more amiable; and I do not hesitate to place it at the head of what Cicero calls the *leniores virtutes*.

The benevolent and feeling heart performs this duty with pleasure, and in a manner that gives it at the same time; but the great, the rich, the powerful, too often bestow their favours upon their inferiors in the manner they bestow their scraps upon their dogs, so as neither to oblige man nor dogs. It is no wonder if favours, benefits, and even charities thus bestowed ungraciously, should be as coldly and faintly acknowledged. Gratitude is a burden upon our imperfect nature, and we are but too willing to ease ourselves of it, or at least to lighten it as much as we can.

The *manner*, therefore, of conferring favours or benefits, is, as to pleasing, almost as important as the matter itself. Take care, then, never to throw away the obligations, which perhaps you may have it in your power to confer upon others, by an air of insolent protection, or by a cold and comfortless manner,

which stifles them in their birth. Humanity inclines, religion requires, and our moral duties oblige us, as far as we are able, to relieve the distresses and miseries of our fellow-creatures; but this is not all, for a true heart-felt benevolence and tenderness will prompt us to contribute what we can to their ease, their amusement, and their pleasure, as far as innocently we may. Let us, then, not only scatter benefits, but even strew flowers for our fellow-travellers, in the rugged ways of this wretched world!

There are some, and but too many in this country particularly, who, without the least visible taint of ill-nature or malevolence, seem to be totally indifferent, and do not show the least desire to please; as, on the other hand, they never designedly offend. Whether this proceeds from a lazy, negligent, and listless disposition, from a gloomy and melancholy nature, from ill health, low spirits, or from a secret and sullen pride, arising from the consciousness of their boasted liberty and independency, is hard to determine, considering the various movements of the human heart, and the wonderful errors of the human head; but, be the cause what it will, that neutrality, which is the effect of it, makes these people, as neutralities do, despicable, and mere blanks in society. They would surely be roused from their indifference, if they would seriously consider the infinite *utility of pleasing*, which I shall do in my next.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

As the utility of pleasing seems to be almost a self-evident proposition, I shall rather hint it to you than dwell upon it. The person who manifests a constant

desire to please, places his, perhaps, small stock of merit at great interest. What vast returns, then, must real merit, when thus adorned, necessarily bring in? A prudent usurer would with transport place his last shilling at such interest, and upon so solid a security.

The man who is amiable will make almost as many friends as he does acquaintances: I mean in the current acceptation of the word, but not such sentimental friends as Pylades or Orestes, Nisus and Euryalus, &c.; but he will make people in general wish him well, and inclined to serve him in anything not inconsistent with their own interest.

Civility is the essential article towards pleasing, and is the result of good-nature and of good-sense; but good-breeding is the decoration, the lustre of civility, and only to be acquired by a minute attention to, and experience of, good company. A good-natured ploughman or fox-hunter may be intentionally as civil as the politest courtier, but their manner often degrades and vilifies their matter; whereas, in good-breeding, the *manner* always adorns and dignifies the *matter* to such a degree that I have often known it give currency to base coin. We may truly say, in this case, *materiem superat opus*.

Civility is often attended by a ceremoniousness, which good-breeding corrects, but will not quite abolish. A certain degree of ceremony is a necessary outwork of manners, as well as of religion: it keeps the forward and petulant at a proper distance, and is a very small restraint to the sensible and to the well-bred part of the world. We find, in the Tale of a Tub, that *Peter* had too much pomp and ceremony, *Jack* too little; but *Martin's* conduct seems to be a

good rule for both worship and manners, and good-sense and good-breeding pursue this true medium. In my next, I shall consider the *means* of pleasing.

P.S.—I am very sorry I can send you no venison this year, but I have no doe-venison this time, the season has been so unfavourable. You must celebrate your natal day this year without it, which you will do best by reflecting that you are now ten years old, and that you have no time to lose in trifling childish dissipation. You must apply now or never.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

THE means of pleasing vary according to time, place, and person; but the general rule is the trite one:—Endeavour to please, and you will infallibly please to a certain degree; constantly show a desire to please, and you will engage people's self-love in your interest—a most powerful advocate. This, as indeed almost everything else, depends on attention, or more properly *les attentions*. Be, therefore, minutely attentive to the circumstances of time, place, and person, or you may happen to offend where you intend to please: for people, in what touches themselves, make no allowances for slips or inadvertencies.

To be *distract* in company is unpardonable, and implies a contempt for it, and is not less ridiculous than offensive. There is little difference between a dead man and a *distract*; what difference there is, is entirely to the advantage of the former, whose insensibility everybody sees is not voluntary. Some people, most absurdly, affect distraction, as thinking that it implies deep thought and superior wisdom; but

they are greatly mistaken, for everybody knows that, if natural, it is a great weakness of the mind, and an egregious folly affected. A wise man, instead of not using the senses which he has, would wish them all to be multiplied, in order to see and hear, at once, whatever is said or done in company.

Be you, then, attentive to the most trifling thing that passes where you are; have, as the vulgar phrase is, your eyes and your ears always about you. It is a very foolish thought, a very common saying, "I really did not mind it," or, "I was thinking of quite another thing at that time." The proper answer to such ingenious excuses, and which admits of no reply, is, Why did you not mind it—you was present when it was said or done? Oh! but you may say, you was thinking of quite another thing; if so, why was you not in quite another place proper for that important other thing, which you say you was thinking of? But you will say, perhaps, that the company was so silly that it did not deserve your attention. That, I am sure, is the saying of a silly man; for a man of sense knows that there is no company so silly, that some use may not be made of by attention.

You should have (and it is to be had, if you please) a versability in attention, which you may instantaneously apply to different objects and persons as they occur. Remember, that without these *attentions* you will never be fit to live in good company, nor indeed any company at all; and the best thing you can do, will be to turn *Chartreux*. When you present yourself, or are presented for the first time in company, study to make the first impression you give of yourself as advantageous as possible. This you can only

do, at first, by what solid people commonly call trifles, which are *air*, *dress*, and *address*. Here invoke the assistance of the Grace. Even that silly article of dress is no trifle upon these occasions.

Never be the first nor the last in the fashion. Wear as fine clothes as men of your rank commonly do, and rather better than worse; and when you are well-dressed once a day, do not seem to know that you have any clothes on at all, but let your motions be as easy as they could be in your night-gown. A fop values himself upon his dress, but a man of sense will not neglect it in his youth at least. The greatest fop I ever saw, was at the same time the greatest sloven, for it is an affected singularity of dress, be it of what sort it will, that constitutes a fop, and everybody will prefer an over-dressed fop to a slovenly one. Let your address, when you first come into company, be modest, but without the least bashfulness or sheepishness—steady, without impudence, and unembarrassed, as if you were in your own room. This is a difficult point to hit, and therefore deserves great attention; nothing but a long usage in the world, and in the best company, can possibly give it.

A young man without knowledge of the world, when he first goes into a fashionable company, where most are his superiors, is commonly either annihilated by *mauvaise honte*, or, if he rouses and lashes himself up to what he only thinks a modest assurance, he runs into impudence and absurdity, and consequently offends instead of pleasing. Have always, as much as you can, that *air de douceur*, which never fails to make favourable impressions, provided it be equally free from an insipid smile or a pert smirk.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

CAREFULLY avoid an argumentative and disputative turn, which too many people have, and some even value themselves upon, in company; and, when your opinion differs from others, maintain it only with modesty, calmness, and gentleness; but never be eager, loud, or clamorous; and, when you find your antagonist beginning to grow warm, put an end to the dispute by some genteel *badinage*: for, take it for granted, if the two best friends in the world dispute with eagerness, upon the most trifling subject imaginable, they will, for the time, find a momentary alienation from each other. Disputes upon any subject are a sort of trial of the understanding, and must end in the mortification of one or other of the disputants. On the other hand, I am far from meaning that you should give an universal assent to all that you hear said in company: such an assent would be mean, and in some cases criminal; but blame with indulgence, and correct with *douceur*.

It is impossible for a man of sense not to have a contempt for fools, and for a man of honour not to have an abhorrence of knaves; but you must gain upon yourself, so as not to discover either in their full extent. They are, I fear, too great a majority to contend with; and their number makes them formidable, though not respectable. They commonly hang together, for the mutual use they make of each other. Show them a reserved civility, and let them not exist with regard to you. Do not play off the fool, as is too commonly done by would-be wits, nor shock the knave unnecessarily, but have as little as possible to

do with either; and remember always, that whoever contracts a friendship with a knave or a fool, has something bad to do or to conceal. A young man, especially at his first entering into the world, is generally judged of by the company he keeps—and it is a very fair way of judging; and though you will not at first be able to make your way, perhaps, into the best company, it is always in your power to avoid bad. It may be, that you will ask me how I define *good* and *bad* company? and I will do it as well as I can, for it is of the greatest importance to know the difference.

Good company consists of a number of people of a certain fashion (I do not mean birth), of whom the majority are reckoned to be people of sense, and of decent characters—in short, of those who are allowed universally to be, and are called, good company. It is possible, nay probable, that a fool or two may sneak, or a knave or two intrude into such company: the former, in hopes of getting the reputation of a little common sense, and the latter, that of some common honesty. But, *ubi plura nitent*, like Horace, you must not be offended *paucis maculis*.

Bad company is, whatever is not generally allowed to be good company; but there are several gradations in this, as in the other; and it will be impossible for you, in the common course of life, not to fall sometimes into bad company; but get out of it as soon, and as well as you can. There are some companies so blasted and scandalous, that to have been with them twice would hurt your character, both as to virtue and parts: such is the company of bullies, sharpers, jockies, and low debauchees either in wine or women, not to mention fools. On the other hand, do not, while

young, declaim and preach against them like a Capuchin. You are not called upon to be a repairer of wrongs, or a reformer of manners. Let your own be pure, and leave others to the contempt or indignation they deserve.

There is a third sort of company, which, without being scandalous, is vilifying and degrading: I mean, what is called *low* company, which young men of birth and fashion, at their first appearance in the world, are too apt to like, from a degree of bashfulness, *mauvaise honte*, and laziness, which is not easily rubbed off. If you sink into this sort of company but for one year, you will never emerge from it, but remain as obscure and insignificant as they are themselves. Vanity is also a great inducement to keep low company; for a man of quality is sure to be the first man in it, and to be admired and flattered, though, perhaps, the greatest fool in it. Do not think I mean, by low company, people of no birth; for birth goes for nothing with me, nor, I hope, with you; but I mean, by low company, obscure, insignificant people, unknown and unseen in the polite part of the world, and distinguished by no one particular merit or talent, unless, perhaps, by soaking and sitting out their evenings, for drinking is generally the dull and indecent occupation of such company.

There is another sort of company which I wish you to avoid in general, though now and then (but seldom) there may be no harm in seeing it: I mean the company of wags, witlings, buffoons, mimics, and merry fellows, who are all of them commonly the dullest fellows in the world with the strongest animal spirits. If from mere curiosity you go into such

company, do not wear in it a severe, philosophical face of contempt of their illiberal mirth, but content yourself with acting a very inferior part in it; contract no familiarity with any of the performers, which would give them claims upon you that you could not with decency either satisfy or reject. Call none of them by their Christian names, as Jack, Frank, &c., but use rather a more ceremonious civility with them than with your equals, for nothing keeps forward and petulant puppies at a proper distance so effectually as a little ceremony.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

BAD company is much more easily defined than good; what is bad must strike everybody at first sight; folly, knavery, and profligacy can never be mistaken for wit, honour, and decency. Bad company have† * * * * *; but in good, there are several gradations from good to the best: merely good, is rather free from objections than deserving of praise. Aim at the best; but what is the best? I take it to be those societies of men or women, or a mixture of both, where great politeness, good-breeding, and decency, though, perhaps, not always virtue, prevail.

Women of fashion and character—I do not mean absolutely unblemished—are a necessary ingredient in the composition of good company; the *attention* which they require, and which is always paid them by well-bred men, keeps up politeness, and gives a habit of good-breeding; whereas men, when they live together without the lenity of women in company,

† A few words were torn off from this letter.

are apt to grow careless, negligent, and rough among one another. In company, every woman is every man's superior, and must be addressed with respect—nay more, with flattery—and you need not fear making it too strong. Such flattery is not mean on your part, nor pernicious to them, for it can never give them a greater opinion of their beauty or their sense than they had before; therefore, make the dose strong—it will be greedily swallowed.

Women stamp the character, fashionable or unfashionable, of all young men at their first appearance in the world. Bribe them with minute attentions, good-breeding, and flattery. I have often known their proclamation give a value and currency to base coin enough, and, consequently, it will add a lustre to the truest sterling. Women, though otherwise called sensible, have all of them, more or less, weaknesses, singularities, whims and humours, especially vanity; study attentively all their failings, gratify them as far as you can—nay, flatter them, and sacrifice your own little humours for them. Young men are too apt to show a dislike, not to say an aversion and contempt, for old and ugly women, which is both impolitic and injudicious, for there is a respectful politeness due to the whole sex. Besides, the ugly and the old, having the least to do themselves, are jealous of being despised, and never forgive it; and I could suppose cases, in which you would desire their friendship, or at least their neutrality. Let it be a rule with you never to show that contempt which very often you will have, and with reason, for a human creature, for it will never be forgiven. An injury is sooner pardoned than an insult.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

IF you have not command enough over yourself to conquer your humours, as I hope you will, and as I am sure every rational creature may have, never go into company while the fit of ill-humour is upon you. Instead of companies diverting you in those moments, you will displease, and probably shock them, and you will part worse friends than you met; but whenever you find in yourself a disposition to sullenness, contradiction, or testiness, it will be in vain to seek for a cure abroad. Stay at home, let your humour ferment and work itself off. Cheerfulness and good-humour are, of all qualifications, the most amiable in company; for, though they do not necessarily imply good-nature and good-breeding, they act them, at least, very well; and that is all that is required in mixed company.

I have, indeed, known some very ill-natured people, who were very good-humoured in company; but I never knew anybody generally ill-humoured in company, who was not essentially ill-natured. Where there is no malevolence in the heart, there is always a cheerfulness and ease in the countenance and manners. By good-humour and cheerfulness, I am far from meaning noisy mirth and loud peals of laughter, which are the distinguishing characteristics of the vulgar and of the ill-bred, whose mirth is a kind of storm. Observe it, the vulgar often laugh, but never smile; whereas, well-bred people often smile, but seldom laugh. A witty thing never excited laughter: it pleases only the mind, and never distorts the countenance. A glaring absurdity, a blunder, a silly accident, and those things that are generally called

comical, may excite a laugh, though never a loud nor a long one, among well-bred people.

Sudden passion is called short-lived madness; it is a madness indeed, but the fits of it return so often in choleric people, that it may well be called a continual madness. Should you happen to be of this unfortunate disposition, which God forbid, make it your constant study to subdue, or, at least, to check it. When you find your choler rising, resolve neither to speak to nor answer the person who excites it; but stay till you find it subsiding, and then speak deliberately. I have known many people, who, by the rapidity of their speech, have run away with themselves into a passion. I will mention to you a trifling, and perhaps, you will think, a ridiculous receipt towards checking the excess of passion, of which I think that I have experienced the utility myself. Do everything in minuet-time; speak, think, and move always in that measure—equally free from the dulness of slow, or the hurry or huddle of quick, time. This movement will, moreover, allow you some moments to think forwards, and the Graces to accompany what you say or do; for they are never represented as either running or dozing. Observe a man in a passion, see his eyes glaring, his face inflamed, his limbs trembling, and his tongue stammering and faltering with rage, and then ask yourself calmly, whether upon any account you would be that human wild-beast. Such creatures are hated and dreaded in all companies, where they are let loose, as people do not choose to be exposed to the disagreeable necessity of either knocking down those brutes, or being knocked down by them. Do you, on the contrary, endeavour

to be cool and steady upon all occasions: the advantages of such a steady calmness are innumerable, and would be too tedious to relate. It may be acquired by care and reflection; if it could not, that reason which distinguishes man from brutes, would be given us to very little purpose. As a proof of this, I never saw, nor scarcely ever heard of, a Quaker in a passion. In truth, there is in that sect a decorum, and decency, and an amiable simplicity, that I know in no other.

Having mentioned the Graces in this letter, I cannot end it without recommending to you, most earnestly, the advice of the wisest of the ancients, to sacrifice to them devoutly and daily. When they are propitious, they adorn everything, and engage everybody. But, are they to be acquired? Yes, to a certain degree, by attention and observation, and assiduous worship. Nature, I admit, must first have made you capable of adopting them, and then observation and imitation will make them in time your own.

There are Graces of the mind, as well as of the body: the former give an engaging turn to the thoughts and the expressions; the latter to the motions, attitudes, and address. No man, perhaps, ever possessed them all: he would be too happy that did; but, if you will attentively observe those graceful and engaging manners which please you most in other people, you may easily correct what will please others in you, and engage the *majority* of the Graces on your side; ensure the casting vote, and be returned *aimable*. There are people whom the *Précieuse* of Molière very justly, though very affectedly calls *les antipodes des Graces*. If these unhappy people are formed by Nature invincibly *maussades* and awkward,

they are to be pitied, rather than blamed or ridiculed. But Nature has disinherited few people to that degree.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

IF God gives you wit, which I am not sure that I wish you, unless He gives you at the same time, at least, an equal portion of judgment, to keep it in good order, wear it like your sword in the scabbard, and do not brandish it to the terror of the whole company. If you have real wit, it will flow spontaneously, and you need not aim at it; for, in that case, the rule of the Gospel is reversed, and it will prove—seek, and you shall *not* find. Wit is a shining quality that everybody admires: most people aim at it, all people fear it, and few love it, unless in themselves. A man must have a good share of wit himself to endure a great share in another. When wit exerts itself in satire, it is a most malignant distemper. Wit, it is true, may be shown in satire; but satire does not constitute wit, as many imagine. A man of wit ought to find a thousand better occasions of showing it.

Abstain, therefore, most carefully from satire, which, though it fall on no particular person in company, and momentarily, from the malignancy of the human heart, pleases all, yet, upon reflection, it frightens all too. Every one thinks it may be his turn next, and will hate you for what he finds you could say of him, more than be obliged to you for what you do not say. Fear and hatred are next-door neighbours. The more wit you have, the more good-nature and politeness you must show, to induce people

to pardon your superiority ; for that is no easy matter. Learn to shrink yourself to the size of the company you are in. Take their tone, whatever it may be, and excel in it if you can ; but never pretend to give the tone. A free conversation will no more bear a dictator, than a free government will.

The character of a man of wit is a shining one, that every man would have, if he could, though it is often attended with some inconveniences : the dullest Alderman ever aims at it, cracks his dull joke, and thinks, or at least hopes, that it is wit ; but the denomination is always formidable, and very often ridiculous. These *titular wits* have commonly much less wit than petulance and presumption : they are at best the *ricurs de leur quartier*, in which narrow sphere they are at once feared and admired.

You will perhaps ask me, and justly, how, considering the delusion of self-love and vanity, from which no man living is absolutely free, how you shall know whether you have wit or not ? To which, the best answer I can give you is, not to trust to the voice of your own judgment, for it will deceive you, nor to your ears, which will always greedily receive flattery, if you are worth being flattered ; but trust only to your eyes, and read in the countenances of good company their approbation or dislike of what you say. Observe carefully, too, whether you are sought for, solicited, and in a manner pressed into good company. But even all this will not absolutely ascertain your wit ; therefore do not, upon this encouragement, flash your wit in people's faces *à ricochets*, in the shape of *bon mots*, epigrams, smart repartees.

Appear to have rather less than more wit than you

really have. A wise man will live at least as much within his wit as his income. Content yourself with good sense and reason, which at the long-run are ever sure to please everybody who has either; if wit comes into the bargain, welcome it, but never invite it. Bear this truth always in your mind, that you may be admired for your wit, if you have any; but that nothing but good sense and good qualities can make you be beloved; they are substantial every-day's wear. Wit is for *le jour de gala*, where people go chiefly to be stared at.

P.S.—I received your last letter, which is very well written. I shall see you next week, and bring you some pretty things from hence; because I am told you are a very good boy, and have learned very well.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

THERE is a species of minor wit, which is much used and much more abused; I mean raillery. It is a most mischievous and dangerous weapon, when in unskilful or clumsy hands; and it is much safer to let it quite alone than to play with it; and yet almost everybody do play with it, though they see daily the quarrels and heart-burnings that it occasions. In truth, it implies a supposed superiority in the *railleur* to the *raillé*, which no man likes even the suspicion of, in his own case, though it may divert him in other people.

An innocent *raillerie* is often inoffensively begun, but very seldom inoffensively ended; for that depends upon the *raillé*, who, if he cannot defend himself, will grow brutal; and, if he can, very possibly his *railleur*

baffled becomes so. It is a sort of trial of wit, in which no man can bear to have his inferiority made appear.

The character of a *railleur* is more generally feared and more heartily hated than any one. I know that in the world, the injustice of a bad man is sooner forgiven than the insults of a witty one; the former only hurts one's liberty and property, but the latter hurts and mortifies that secret pride which no human breast is free from. I will allow that there is a sort of raillery which may not only be inoffensive, but even flattering, as when, by a genteel irony, you accuse people of those imperfections which they are most notoriously free from, and consequently insinuate that they possess the contrary virtues. You may safely call Aristides a knave, or a very handsome woman an ugly one. Take care, however, that neither the man's character, nor the lady's beauty, be in the least doubtful. But this sort of raillery requires a very light and steady hand to administer it. A little too strong, it may be mistaken into an offence; and a little too smooth, it may be thought a sneer, which is a most odious thing.

There is another sort—I will not call it wit, but merriment and buffoonery—which is *mimickry*. The most successful mimic in the world is always the most absurd fellow; and an ape is infinitely his superior. His profession is to imitate and ridicule those natural defects and deformities for which no man is in the least accountable, and in the imitation of which he makes himself, for the time, as disagreeable and shocking as those he mimics. But I will say no more of those creatures who only amuse the lowest rabble of mankind.

There is another sort of human animals, called wags, whose profession is to make the company laugh immoderately, and who always succeed, provided the company consist of fools; but who are equally disappointed in finding that they never can alter a muscle in the face of a man of sense. This is a most contemptible character, and never esteemed even by those who are silly enough to be diverted by them.

Be content for yourself with sound good sense, and good manners, and let wit be thrown into the bargain where it is proper and inoffensive. Good sense will make you be esteemed; good manners, beloved: wit gives a lustre to both. In whatever company you happen to be, whatever pleasures you are engaged in, though perhaps not of a very laudable kind, take care to preserve a great personal dignity; I do not in the least mean a pride of birth and rank—that would be too silly; but I mean a dignity of character. Let your moral character of honesty and honour be unblemished, and even unsuspected. I have known some people dignify even their vices—first, by never boasting of them, and next, by not practising them in an illiberal and indecent manner. If they were addicted to women, they never degraded and dirtied themselves in the company of infamous prostitutes; if they loved drinking too well, they did not practise that beastly vice in beastly companies, but with those whose good humour in some degree seemed to excuse it, though nothing can justify it. When you see a drunken man, as probably you will see many, study him with attention, and ask yourself soberly, whether you would, upon any account, be that beast—that disgrace to human reason. The Lacedæmonians very wisely

made their slaves drunk, to deter their children from being so; and with good effect, for nobody ever heard of a Lacedæmonian drunk.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

IF there is a lawful and proper object of raillery, it seems to be a coxcomb, as an usurper of the common rights of mankind. But here some precautions are necessary. Some wit, and great presumption, constitute a coxcomb, for a true coxcomb must have wit. The most consummate coxcomb I ever knew was a man of the most wit, but whose wit, boasted with presumption, made him too big for any company, where he always usurped the seat of empire, and crowded out common sense.

Raillery seems to be a proper rod for these offenders; but great caution and skill are necessary in the use of it, or you may happen to catch a Tartar as they call it, and then the laughter will be against you. The best way with these people is to let them quite alone, and give them rope enough.

On the other hand, there are many, and perhaps more, who suffer from their timidity, and *mauvaise honte*, which sink them infinitely below their level. Timidity is generally taken for stupidity, which, for the most part, it is not, but proceeds from a want of education in good company. Mr. Addison was the most timid and awkward man I ever saw; and no wonder, for he had been wholly cloistered up in the cells of Oxford till he was five-and-twenty years old. La Bruyère says, and there is a great deal of truth in it, *Qu'on ne vult dans ce monde que ce que l'on veut valoir*;

for, in this respect, mankind show great indulgence, and value people at pretty near the price they set on themselves, if it be not exorbitant.

I could wish you to have a cool intrepid assurance, with great seeming modesty, never *démonté*, and never forward. Very awkward timid people, who have not been used to keep good company, are either ridiculously bashful or absurdly impudent. I have known many a man, impudent from shamefacedness, endeavouring to act a reasonable assurance, and lashing himself to what he imagined to be a proper and easy behaviour. A very timid bashful man is annihilated in good company, especially of his superiors; he does not know what he says or does; and it is a ridiculous agitation, both of body and mind. Avoid both extremes, and endeavour to possess yourself with coolness and steadiness: speak to the King with full as little concern, though with more respect, as you would to your equals. This is the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman, and a man of the world.

The way to acquire this most necessary behaviour is, as I have told you before, to keep company, whatever difficulty it may cost you at first, with your superiors and with women of fashion, instead of taking refuge, as too many young people do, in low or bad company, in order to avoid the restraint of good-breeding. It is, I confess, a very difficult, not to say an impossible thing, for a young man, at his first appearance in the world, and unused to the ways and manners of it, not to be disconcerted and embarrassed when he first enters what is called the best company. He sees that they stare at him, and if they happen to laugh, he is sure that they laugh at him. This awk-

wardness is not to be blamed, as it often proceeds from laudable causes—from a modest diffidence of himself, and a consciousness of not yet knowing the modes and manners of good company. But let him persevere with a becoming modesty, and he will find that all people of good-nature and good-breeding will at first help him out, instead of laughing at him; and then, a very little usage of the world, and an attentive observation, will soon give him a proper knowledge of it.

It is the characteristic of low and bad company, which commonly consists of wags and wittlings, to laugh and disconcert, and, as they call it, bamboozle a young fellow of ingenuous modesty. You will tell me, perhaps, that, to do all this, one must have a good share of vanity; I grant it; but the great point is, *Ne quid nimis*; for I fear Monsieur de la Rochefoucault's maxim is too true, *Que la vertu n'iroit pas loin, si la vanité ne lui tenoit compagnie*. A man who despairs of pleasing will never please; a man that is sure that he shall always please wherever he goes, is a coxcomb; but the man who hopes and endeavours to please, will most infallibly please.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

THE egotism is the most usual and favourite figure of most people's rhetoric, and which I hope you will never adopt, but, on the contrary, most scrupulously avoid. Nothing is more disagreeable or irksome to the company, than to hear a man either praising or condemning himself, for both proceed from the same motive, vanity. I would allow no man to speak of

himself, unless in a court of justice, in his own defence, or as a witness. Shall a man speak in his own praise? No; the hero of his own little tale always puzzles and disgusts the company, who do not know what to say or how to look. Shall he blame himself? No; vanity is as much the motive of his condemnation as of his panegyric.

I have known many people take shame to themselves, and, with a modest contrition, confess themselves guilty of most of the cardinal virtues. They have such a weakness in their nature, that they cannot help being too much moved with the misfortunes and miseries of their fellow-creatures, which they feel perhaps more, but, at least, as much as they do their own. Their generosity, they are sensible, is imprudence; for they are apt to carry it too far, from the weak, the irresistible beneficence of their nature. They are possibly too jealous of their honour, too irascible when they think it is touched; and this proceeds from their unhappy warm constitution, which makes them too sensible upon that point—and so on of all the virtues possibly. A poor trick, and a wretched instance of human vanity, and what defeats its own purpose.

Do you be sure never to speak *of* yourself, *for* yourself, nor *against* yourself; but let your character speak for you. Whatever that says will be believed; but whatever you say of it will not be believed, and only make you odious and ridiculous. Be constantly on your guard against the various snares and effects of vanity and self-love; it is impossible to extinguish them; they are, without exception, in every human breast; and, in the present state of nature, it is very

right it should be so. But endeavour to keep within due bounds, which is very possible. In this case, dissimulation is meritorious, and the seeming modesty of the hero or the patriot adorns their other virtues.

Vanity is the more odious and shocking to everybody, because everybody, without exception, has vanity; and two vanities can never love one another, any more than, according to the vulgar saying, two of a trade can. If you desire to please men and women, address yourself to their passions and weaknesses. Gain their hearts, and then let their reason do its worst against you.

Bath.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

I KNOW that you are generous and benevolent in your nature; but that, though the principal point, is not quite enough; you must seem so too. I do not mean ostentatiously; but do not be ashamed, as many young fellows are, of owning the laudable sentiments of good-nature and humanity which you really feel. I have known many young men who desired to be reckoned men of spirit, affect a hardness and unfeelingness, which in reality they never had; their conversation is in the decisive and menacing tone; they are for breaking bones, throwing people out of windows, cutting off ears, &c.; and all these fine declarations they ratify with horrid and silly oaths—all this to be thought men of spirit. Astonishing error this! which necessarily reduces them to this dilemma: if they really mean what they say, they are brutes; and if they do not, they are fools for saying it. This, however, is a common character among young men.

Carefully avoid this contagion, and content yourself with being calmly and mildly resolute and steady, when you are thoroughly convinced you are in the right; for this is true spirit. What is commonly called in the world a man or woman of spirit, are the two most detestable and most dangerous animals that inhabit it. They are wrong-headed, captious, jealous, offending without reason, and defending with as little. The man of spirit has immediate recourse to his sword, and the woman of spirit to her tongue; and it is hard to say which of the two is the most mischievous weapon. It is too usual a thing in many companies, to take the tone of scandal and defamation; some gratify their malice, and others think they show their wit by it; but I hope you will never adopt this tone. On the contrary, do you always take the favourable side of the question; and, without any offensive and flat contradiction, seem to doubt, and represent the uncertainty of reports, where private malice is at least very apt to mingle itself. This candid and temperate behaviour will please the whole uncandid company, though a sort of gentle contradiction to their unfavourable insinuations, as it makes them hope they may in their turn find an advocate in you.

There is another kind of offensiveness often used in company; which is, to throw out hints and insinuations, only applicable to, and felt by, one or two persons in the company, who are consequently both embarrassed and angry, and the more so, as they are unwilling to show that they apply those hints to themselves. Have a watch over yourself, never to say anything that either the whole company, or any one person in it can reasonably or probably take ill; and

remember the French saying, *Qu'il ne faut pas parler de corde dans la maison d'un pendu*. Good-nature universally charms, even those who have none; and, it is impossible to be *aimable* without both the reality and the appearance of it.

Bath

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

I HAVE more than once recommended to you, in the course of our correspondence, attention; but I shall frequently recur to that subject, which is as inexhaustible as it is important. Attend carefully, in the first place, to human nature in general, which is pretty much the same in all human creatures, and varies chiefly by modes, habits, education and example: Analyse, and, if I may use the expression, anatomize it; study your own, and that will lead you to know other people's; carefully observe the words, the looks, and gestures of the whole company you are in, and retain all their little singularities, humours, tastes, affections, and antipathies; which will enable you to please or avoid them, occasionally, as your judgment may direct you.

I will give you the most trifling instance of this that can be imagined, and yet will be sure to please. If you invite anybody to dinner, you should take care to provide those things which you have observed them to like more particularly, and not to have those things which you know they have an antipathy to. These trifling things go a great way in the Art of Pleasing, and the more so, from being so trifling, that they are flattering proofs of your regard to those persons. These things are what the French call *des attentions*;

which, to do them justice, they study and practise more than any people in Europe.

Attend to, and look at whoever speaks to you, and never seem *distrail* or *rêveur*, as if you did not hear them at all; for nothing is more contemptuous, and consequently more shocking. It is true, you will by this means often be obliged to attend to things not worth anybody's attention; but it is a necessary sacrifice to be made to good manners in society. A minute attention is also necessary to time, place, and character; a *bon mot* in one company is not so in another, but, on the contrary, may prove offensive. Never joke with those whom you observe to be at the time pensive and grave; and, on the other hand, do not preach and moralize in a company full of mirth and gaiety. Many people come into company full of what they intend to say in it themselves, without the least regard to others; and thus charged up to the muzzle, are resolved to let it off at any rate. I knew a man who had a story about a gun, which he thought a good one, and that he told it very well. He tried all means in the world to turn the conversation upon guns; but, if he failed in his attempt, he started in his chair, and said he heard a gun fired; but when the company assured him they heard no such thing, he answered, perhaps then I was mistaken; but, however, since we are talking of guns—and then told his story, to the great indignation of the company.

Become, as far as with innocence and honour you can, all things to all men, and you will gain a great many friends. Have *des prevenances* too, and say or do what you judge beforehand will be most agreeable to them, without their hinting at or expecting it. It

would be endless to specify the numberless opportunities a man has of pleasing, if he will but make use of them; your own good sense will suggest them to you, and your good-nature, and even your interest, will induce you to practise them. Great attention is to be had to times and seasons; for example, at meals talk often, but never long at a time; for the frivolous bustle of servants, and often the more frivolous conversation of the guests, which chiefly turns upon kitchen-stuff, and cellar-stuff, will not bear any long reasonings or relations. Meals are, and were always, reckoned the moments of relaxation of the mind, and sacred to easy mirth and social cheerfulness: Conform to this custom, and furnish your quota of good-humour; but be not induced by example to the frequent excess of gluttony or intemperance; the former inevitably produces dulness, the latter madness.

Observe the *à propos* in everything you say or do. In conversing with those who are much your superiors, however easy and familiar you may and ought to be with them, preserve the respect that is due to them. Converse with your equals with an easy familiarity, and, at the same time, great civility and decency. But too much familiarity, according to the old saying, often breeds contempt, and sometimes quarrels. I know nothing more difficult in common behaviour than to fix due bounds to familiarity; too little implies an unsociable formality; too much destroys friendly and social intercourse. The best rule I can give you to manage familiarity is, never to be more familiar with anybody than you would be willing, and even wish, that he should be with you. On the other hand, avoid that uncomfortable reserve and coldness

which is generally the shield of cunning, or the protection of dulness. The Italian maxim is a wise one, *il volto sciolto, i pensieri stretti*; that is, let your countenance be open and your thoughts be close. To your inferiors you should use an hearty benevolence in your words and actions, instead of a refined politeness, which would be apt to make them suspect that you rather laughed at them: For example, your civility to a mere country gentleman must be in a very different way to what you would use to a man of the world; your reception of him should seem hearty, and rather coarse, to relieve him from the embarrassment of his own *mauvaise honte*. Have attention even in the company of fools; for, though they are fools, they may, perhaps, drop or repeat something worth your knowing, and which you may profit by. Never talk your best in the company of fools; for they would not understand you, and would perhaps suspect that you jeered them, as they commonly call it; but talk only the plainest common sense to them, and very gravely, for there is no jesting nor *badinage* with them. Upon the whole, with attention, and *les attentions*, you will be sure to please; without them, you will be sure to offend.

MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,

CAREFULLY avoid all affectation either of body or of mind. It is a very true and a very trite observation, that no man is ridiculous for being what he really is, but for affecting to be what he is not. No man is awkward by nature, but by affecting to be genteel. I have known many a man of common sense pass generally for a fool, because he affected a degree of wit that

God had denied him. A ploughman is by no means awkward in the exercise of his trade, but would be exceedingly ridiculous, if he attempted the air and graces of a man of fashion. You learned to dance; but it was not for the sake of dancing; it was to bring your air and motions back to what they would naturally have been, if they had had fair play, and had not been warped in youth by bad examples, and awkward imitations of other boys.

Nature may be cultivated and improved, both as to the body and the mind; but it is not to be extinguished by art; and all endeavours of that kind are absurd, and an inexpressible fund for ridicule. Your body and mind must be at ease, to be agreeable; but affectation is a particular restraint, under which no man can be genteel in his carriage, or pleasing in his conversation. Do you think your motions would be easy or graceful, if you wore the clothes of another man much slenderer or taller than yourself? Certainly not; it is the same thing with the mind, if you affect a character that does not fit you, and that nature never intended for you. But do not mistake, and think that it follows from hence, that you should exhibit your whole character to the public, because it is your natural one. No; many things must be suppressed, and many things concealed, in the best character: Never force nature; but it is by no means necessary to show it all.

Discretion must come to your assistance, that sure and safe guide through life; discretion, that necessary companion to reason, and the useful *garde-fou*, if I may use the expression, to wit and imagination. Discretion points out the *à propos*, the *decorum*, the *ne*

quid nimis, and will carry a man with moderate parts further than the most shining parts would without it. It is another word for judgment, though not quite synonymous to it. Judgment is not upon all occasions required, but discretion always is. Never affect nor assume a particular character; for it will never fit you, but will probably give you a ridicule; leave it to your conduct, your virtues, your morals, and your manners, to give you one. Discretion will teach you to have particular attention to your *mœurs*, which we have no one word in our language to express exactly. *Morals* are too much, *manners* too little. Decency comes the nearest to it, though rather short of it; Cicero's word *decorum* is properly the thing; and I see no reason why that expressive word should not be adopted and naturalized in our language: I have never scrupled using it in that sense.

A propos of words. Study your own language more carefully than most people do; get a habit of speaking it with propriety and elegance; for nothing is more disagreeable than to hear a gentleman talk the barbarisms, the solecisms, and the vulgarisms of porters. Avoid, on the other hand, a stiff and formal accuracy, especially what the women call hard words, when plain ones as expressive are at hand. The French make it their study *bien narrer*, but are apt *narrer trop*, and with too affected an elegance.

The three commonest topics of discourse are, religion, politics, and news. All people think they understand the two first perfectly, though they never studied either; and are therefore very apt to talk both dogmatically and ignorantly, consequently with warmth. But religion is by no means a proper sub-

ject of conversation in a mixed company; it should only be treated among a very few people of learning, for mutual instruction. It is too awful and respectable a subject to become a familiar one. Therefore never mingle yourself in it any further, than to express an universal toleration to all errors in it, if conscientiously entertained; for, every man has as good a right to think as he does, as you have to think as you do; nay, in truth, he cannot help it.

As for politics, they are still more universally understood; and, as every one thinks his private interest more or less concerned in them, nobody hesitates to pronounce decisively upon them, not even the ladies, the copiousness of whose eloquence is more to be admired than the conclusiveness of their logic. It will be impossible for you to avoid engaging in these conversations, for there are hardly any others; but take care to do it coolly, and with great good-humour; and whenever you find that the company begin to be heated, and noisy for the good of their country, be only a patient hearer, unless you can interpose by some agreeable *badinage*, and restore good-humour to the company. And here I cannot help observing to you, that nothing is more useful either to put off or to parry disagreeable and puzzling affairs, than a good-humoured and genteel *badinage*: I have found it so by long experience. But this *badinage* must not be carried to *mauvaise plaisanterie*; it must be light, without being frivolous; sensible, without being sententious: And, in short, have that *je ne sais quoi* which every body feels, and nobody describes.

I shall now for a time suspend the course of these Letters; but as the subject is inexhaustible, I shall

occasionally resume it. In the meantime, believe, that a man, who does not generally please, is nobody ; and that a constant endeavour to please, will infallibly please to a certain degree at least.

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S LETTER TO HIS GODSON
AND HEIR.

(TO BE DELIVERED AFTER HIS OWN DEATH.)

Extracts.

MY DEAR BOY,

You will have received by my will solid proofs of my esteem and affection. This paper is not a will, and only conveys to you my most earnest requests, for your good alone, which requests, from your gratitude for my past care, from your good heart, and your good sense, I persuade myself, you will observe as punctually as if you were obliged by law to do so. They are not the dictates of a peevish, sour old fellow, who affects to give good rules, when he can no longer give bad examples, but the advice of an indulgent and tender friend (I had almost said parent), and the result of the long experience of one, *hackneyed in the ways of life*, and calculated only to assist and guide your unexperienced youth.

You will probably come to my title and estate too soon, and at an age at which you will be much less fit to conduct yourself with discretion than you were at ten years old. This I know is a very unwelcome truth to a sprightly young fellow, and will hardly be believed by him, but it is nevertheless a truth, and a

truth which I most sincerely wish, though I cannot reasonably hope, that you may be firmly convinced of. At that critical period of life, the dangerous passions are busy, impetuous, and stifle all reflection, the spirits high, and examples in general bad. It is a state of continual ebriety for six or seven years at least, and frequently attended by fatal and permanent consequences, both to body and mind. Believe yourself then to be drunk, and as drunken men, when reeling, catch hold of the next thing in their way to support them, do you, my dear boy, hold by the rails of my experience. I hope they will hinder you from falling, though perhaps not from staggering a little sometimes.

As to your religious and moral obligations I shall say nothing, because I know that you are thoroughly informed of them, and hope that you will scrupulously observe them, for if you do not you can neither be happy here nor hereafter.

I suppose you of the age of one-and-twenty, and just returned from your travels much fuller of fire than reflection: the first impressions you give of yourself, at your first entrance upon the great stage of life in your own country, are of infinite consequence, and to a great degree decisive of your future character. You will be tried first by the grand jury of Middlesex, and if they find a Bill against you, you must not expect a very favourable verdict from the many petty juries who will try you again in Westminster.

Do not set up a tawdry, flaunting equipage, nor affect a grave one: let it be the equipage of a sensible young fellow, and not the gaudy one of a thoughtless young heir; a frivolous *éclat* and profusion will lower

you in the opinion of the sober and sensible part of mankind. Never wear over-fine clothes; be as fine as your age and rank require, but do not distinguish yourself by any uncommon magnificence or singularity of dress. Follow the example of Martin, and equally avoid that of Peter or Jack.* Do not think of shining by any one trifling circumstance, but shine in the aggregate, by the union of great and good qualities, joined to the amiable accomplishments of manners, air and address.

At your first appearance in town, make as many acquaintances as you please, and the more the better, but for some time contract no friendships. Stay a little and inform yourself of the characters of those young fellows with whom you must necessarily live more or less, but connect yourself intimately with none but such whose moral characters are unblemished. For it is a true saying *tell me who you live with and I will tell you what you are*; and it is equally true that, when a man of sense makes a friend of a knave or a fool he must have something bad to do, or to conceal. A good character will be soiled at least by frequent contact with a bad one.

Do not be seduced by the fashionable word *spirit*. A man of spirit in the usual acceptation of that word is, in truth, a creature of strong and warm animal life with a weak understanding; passionate, wrong-headed, captious, jealous of his mistaken honour, and suspecting unintended affronts, and, which is worse, willing to fight in support of his wrong head. Shun this kind of company, and content yourself with a cold, steady firmness and resolution. By the way, a

* In Swift's *Tale of a Tub*.

woman of spirit is, *mutatis mutandis*, the duplicate of this man of spirit; a scold and a vixen.

I shall say little to you against gaming, for my example cries aloud to you **DO NOT GAME**. Gaming is rather a rage than a passion; it will break in upon all your rational pleasures, and perhaps with some stain upon your character, if you should happen to win; for whoever plays deep must necessarily lose his money or his character. I have lost great sums at play, and am sorry I lost them, but I should now be much more sorry if I had won as much. As it is, I can only be accused of folly, to which I plead guilty. But as in the common intercourse of the world you will often be obliged to play at social games, observe strictly this rule: Never sit down to play with men only, but let there always be a woman or two of the party, and then the loss or the gain cannot be considerable.

Do not be in haste to marry, but look about you first, for the affair is important. There are but two objects in marriage, love or money. If you marry for love, you will certainly have some very happy days, and probably many very uneasy ones, if for money, you will have no happy days and probably no uneasy ones; in this latter case let the woman at least be such a one that you can live decently and amicably with, otherwise it is a robbery; in either case, let her be of an unblemished and unsuspected character, and of a rank not indecently below your own.

You will doubtless soon after your return to England be a Member of one of the two Houses of Parliament; there you must take pains to distinguish yourself as a speaker. The task is not very hard if

you have common sense, as I think you have, and a great deal more. The *Pedarii Senatores*, who were known only by their feet, and not by their heads, were always the objects of general contempt. If on your first, second or third attempt to speak, you should fail, or even stop short, from that trepidation and concern, which every modest man feels upon those occasions, do not be discouraged, but persevere; it will do at last. Where there is a certain fund of parts and knowledge, speaking is but a knack, which cannot fail of being acquired by frequent use. I must however add this caution, never write down your speeches beforehand; if you do you may perhaps be a good declaimer, but will never be a debater. Prepare and digest your matter well in your own thoughts, and *Verba non invita sequantur*. But if you can properly introduce into your speech a shining declamatory period or two which the audience may carry home with them, like the favourite song of an opera, it will have a good effect. The late Lord Bolingbroke had accustomed himself so much to a florid eloquence even in his common conversation (which anybody with care may do) that his real *extempore* speeches seemed to be studied. Lord Mansfield was, in my opinion, the next to him in undeviating eloquence, but Mr. Pitt carried with him, unpremeditated, the strength of thunder, and the splendour of lightning. The best matter in the world if ill dressed and ungracefully spoken, can never please. Conviction or conversion are equally out of the question in both Houses, but he will come the nearest to them who pleases the most. In that, as in every thing else, sacrifice to the Graces. Be very modest in

your *exordium*, and as strong as you can be in your *peroratio*.

I can hardly bring myself to caution you against drinking, because I am persuaded that I am writing to a rational creature, a gentleman, and not to a swine. However, that you may not be insensibly drawn into that beastly custom of even sober drinking and sipping, as the sots call it, I advise you to be of no club whatsoever. The object of all clubs is either drinking or gaming, but commonly both. A sitting member of a drinking club is not indeed always drunk, perhaps seldom quite so, but he is certainly never quite sober, and is *beclareted* next morning with the guzzle of the preceding evening. A member of a gaming club should be a cheat or he will soon be a beggar.

You will and you ought to be in some employment at Court.* It is the best school for manners, and whatever ignorant people may think or say of it, no more the seat of vice than a village is; human nature is the same everywhere, the modes only are different. In the village they are coarse; in the Court they are polite; like the different clothes in the two several places, frieze in the one, and velvet in the other.

Be neither a servile courtier nor a noisy patriot; custom, that governs the world instead of reason, authorizes a certain latitude in political matters not always consistent with the strictest morality, but in all events remember *servare modum, finemque tueri*.

Be not only tender and jealous of your moral, but of your political, character. In your political warfare, you will necessarily make yourself enemies, but make

* The fifth Earl of Chesterfield was appointed in 1798 his Majesty's Master of the Horse.

them only your political and temporary, not personal, enemies. Pursue your own principles with steadiness, but without personal reflection or acrimony, and behave yourself to those who differ from you with all the politeness and good humour of a gentleman, for in the frequent jumble of political atoms, the hostile and the amicable ones often change places.

In business be as able as you can, but do not be cunning; cunning is the dark sanctuary of incapacity. Every man can be cunning if he pleases, by simulation, dissimulation, and in short by lying. But that character is universally despised and detested, and justly too; no truly great man was ever cunning. Preserve a dignity of character by your virtue and veracity. You are by no means obliged to tell all that you know and think, but you are obliged by all the most sacred ties of morality and prudence, never to say anything contrary to what you know or think to be true. Be master of your countenance, and let not every fool who runs read it. One of the fundamental rules, and almost the only honest one of Italian politics, is *Volto sciolto e pensieri stretti*, an open countenance and close thoughts.

Never be proud of your rank or birth, but be as proud as you please of your character. Nothing is so contrary to true dignity as the former kind of pride. You are, it is true, of a noble family, but whether of a very ancient one or not I neither know nor care, nor need you, and I dare say there are twenty fools in the House of Lords who could out-descend you in pedigree. That sort of stately pride is the standing jest of all people who can make one; but dignity of character is universally respected. Acquire and preserve that

most carefully. Should you be unfortunate enough to have vices, you may, to a certain degree, even dignify them by a strict observance of decorum; at least they will lose something of their natural turpitude.

Carefully avoid every singularity that may give a handle to ridicule, for ridicule (with submission to Lord Shaftesbury), though not founded upon truth, will stick for some time, and if thrown by a skilful hand perhaps for ever. Be wiser and better than your cotemporaries, but seem to take the world as it is, and men as they are, for you are too young to be a *censor morum*; you would be an object of ridicule. Act contrary to many Churchmen, practise virtue, but do not preach it whilst you are young.

If you should ever fill a great station at Court, take care above all things to keep your hands clean and pure from the infamous vice of corruption, a vice so infamous that it degrades even the other vices that may accompany it. Accept no present whatever; let your character in that respect be transparent and without the least speck, for as avarice is the vilest and dirtiest vice in private, corruption is so in public life. I call corruption the taking of a sixpence more than the just and known salary of your employment, under any pretence whatsoever. Use what power and credit you may have at Court, in the service of merit rather than of kindred, and not to get pensions and reversions for yourself or your family, for I call that also, what it really is, scandalous pollution, though of late it has been so frequent that it has almost lost its

REPUTATION

Never run in debt, for it is neither honest nor prudent, but on the contrary, live so far within your

annual income, as to leave yourself room sufficient for acts of generosity and charity. Give nobly to indigent merit, and do not refuse your charity even to those who have no merit but their misery. Voltaire expresses my thought much better than I can myself:

*" Repandez vos bienfaits avec magnificence,
" Même aux moins vertueux ne les refusez pas,
" Ne vous informez pas de leur reconnaissance:
" Il est grand, il est beau, de faire des ingrats."*

Such expense will do you more honour, and give you more pleasure, than the idle profusion of a modish and *erudite* luxury.

These few sheets will be delivered to you by Dr. Dodd at your return from your travels, probably long after I shall be dead; read them with deliberation and reflection, as the tender and last testimonies of my affection for you. They are not the severe and discouraging dictates of an old parent, but the friendly and practicable advice of a sincere friend, who remembers that he has been young himself and knows the indulgence that is due to youth and inexperience. Yes, I have been young, and a great deal too young. Idle dissipation and innumerable indiscretions, which I am now heartily ashamed and repent of, characterized my youth. But if my advice can make you wiser and better than I was at your age, I hope it may be some little atonement.

God bless you.

CHESTERFIELD.

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S CHARACTERS.

GEORGE THE FIRST.

GEORGE THE FIRST was an honest, dull, German gentleman, as unfit as unwilling to act the part of a King, which is to shine and to oppress. Lazy and inactive even in his pleasures, which were therefore lowly sensual. He was coolly intrepid, and indolently benevolent. He was diffident of his own parts, which made him speak little in public, and prefer in his social, which were his favourite, hours the company of wags and buffoons. Even his mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, with whom he passed most of his time, and who had all influence over him, was very little above an idiot.

Importunity alone could make him act, and then only to get rid of it. His views and affections were singly confined to the narrow compass of his Electorate; England was too big for him. If he had nothing great as a King, he had nothing bad as a man; and if he does not adorn, at least he will not stain, the annals of this country. In private life he would have been loved and esteemed as a good citizen, a good friend, and a good neighbour. Happy were it for Europe, happy for the world, if there were not greater Kings in it!

GEORGE THE SECOND.

HE had no better parts than his father, but much stronger animal spirits, which made him produce and communicate himself more. Everything in his composition was little; and he had all the weaknesses of a little mind, without any of the virtues, or even the vices, of a great one. He loved to act the King, but mistook the part; and the Royal dignity shrunk into the Electoral pride. He was educated upon that scale, and never enlarged its dimensions with his dominions. As Elector of Hanover he thought himself great; as King of Great Britain only rich. Avarice, the meanest of all passions, was his ruling one; and I never knew him deviate into any generous action.

His first natural movements were always on the side of justice and truth; but they were often warped by Ministerial influence, or the secret twitches of avarice. He was generally reckoned ill-natured, which indeed he was not. He had rather an unfeeling than a bad heart; but I never observed any settled malevolence in him, though his sudden passions, which were frequent, made him say things which, in cooler moments, he would not have executed. His heart always seemed to me to be in a state of perfect neutrality between hardness and tenderness. In Council he was excessively timorous, and thought by many to be so in person; but of this I can say nothing on my own knowledge. In his dress and in his conversation he affected the hero so much, that from thence only many called his courage in question: though, by the way, that is no certain rule to judge by, since the bravest men, with weak understandings, constantly fall into that error.

Little things, as he has often told me himself, affected him more than great ones; and this was so true, that I have often seen him put so much out of humour at his private levée, by a mistake or blunder of a *valet de chambre*, that the gaping crowd admitted to his public levée have, from his looks and silence, concluded that he had just received some dreadful news. Tacitus would always have been deceived by him.

Within certain bounds, but they were indeed narrow ones, his understanding was clear, and his conception quick: and I have generally observed, that he pronounced sensibly and justly upon single propositions; but to analyse, separate, combine, and reduce to a point, complicated ones, was above his faculties.

He was thought to have a great opinion of his own abilities; but, on the contrary, I am very sure that he had a great distrust of them in matters of state. He well knew that he was governed by the Queen, while she lived; and that she was governed by Sir Robert Walpole: but he kept that secret inviolably, and flattered himself that nobody had discovered it. After their deaths, he was governed successively by different ministers, according as they could engage for a sufficient strength in the House of Commons; for, as avarice was his ruling passion, he feared, hated, and courted, that money-giving part of the legislature.

He was by no means formed for the pleasures of private and social life, though sometimes he tried to supple himself to them; but he did it so ungracefully, that both he and the company were mutual restraints upon each other, and consequently soon grew weary of one another. A King must be as great in mind as

in rank, who can let himself down with ease to the social level, and no lower.

He had no favourites, and indeed no friends, having none of that expansion of heart, none of those amiable connecting talents, which are necessary for both. This, together with the sterility of his conversation, made him prefer the company of women, with whom he rather sauntered away than enjoyed his leisure hours. He was addicted to women, but chiefly to such as required little attention and less pay. He never had but two avowed mistresses of rank, the Countesses of Suffolk and Yarmouth. The former, though he passed half his time with her, had no degree of influence, and but a small one of profit; the latter, being taken after the death of the Queen, had more of both, but no extravagant share of either.

He was very well-bred; but it was in a stiff and formal manner, and produced in others that restraint which they saw he was under himself. He bestowed his favours so coldly and ungraciously, that they excited no warm returns in those who received them. They knew that they owed them to the Ministerial arrangements for the time being, and not to his voluntary choice. He was extremely regular and methodical in his hours, in his papers, and above all in his private accounts; and would be very peevish if any accident, or negligence in his Ministers, broke in upon that regular allotment of his time.

He had a very small degree of acquired knowledge; he sometimes read history, and, as he had a very good memory, was exceedingly correct in facts and dates. He spoke French and Italian well, and English very properly, but with something of a foreign accent. He

had a contempt for the *Belles Lettres*, which he called trifling. He troubled himself little about religion, but jogged on quietly in that in which he had been bred, without scruples, doubts, zeal, or inquiry. He was extremely sober and temperate, which, together with constant gentle exercise, prolonged his life beyond what his natural constitution, which was but a weak one, seemed to promise. He died of an apoplexy, after a reign of three-and-thirty years. He died unlamented, though not unpraised because he was dead.

Upon the whole, he was rather a weak than a bad man or King. His government was mild as to prerogative, but burthensome as to taxes, which he raised when and to what degree he pleased, by corrupting the honesty, and not by invading the privileges, of Parliament. I have dwelt the longer upon this character, because I was so long and so well acquainted with it; for above thirty years I was always near his person, and had constant opportunities of observing him, both in his Regal robes and in his undress. I have accompanied him in his pleasures, and been employed in his business. I have, by turns, been as well and as ill with him as any man in England. Impartial and unprejudiced, I have drawn this character from the life, and after a forty years sitting.

QUEEN CAROLINE.

QUEEN CAROLINE had lively, pretty parts, a quick conception, and some degree of female knowledge; and would have been an agreeable woman in social, if

she had not aimed at being a great one in public life. She had the graces that adorn the former, but neither the strength of parts nor the judgment necessary for the latter. She professed art, instead of concealing it, and valued herself upon her skill in simulation and dissimulation, by which she made herself many enemies, and not one friend, even among the women the nearest to her person.

She loved money, but could occasionally part with it, especially to men of learning, whose patronage she affected. She often conversed with them, and bewildered herself in their metaphysical disputes, which neither she nor they themselves understood. Cunning and perfidy were the means she made use of in business, as all women do, for want of better. She showed her art most in her management of the King, whom she governed absolutely, by a seeming complaisance and obedience to all his humours; she even favoured and promoted his gallantries. She had a dangerous ambition, for it was attended with courage, and, if she had lived much longer, might have proved fatal either to herself or the constitution.

After puzzling herself in all the whimsies and fantastical speculations of different sects, she fixed herself ultimately in Deism, believing a future state. She died with great resolution and intrepidity, of a very painful distemper, and under some cruel operations.

Upon the whole, the *agreeable woman* was liked by most people; but the *Queen* was neither esteemed, beloved, nor trusted, by anybody but the King.

THE MISTRESSES OF GEORGE THE FIRST.

A Fragment.

(Now first printed.)

THE accession of King George the First to the throne caused a great revolution in the fashionable part of the kingdom. Queen Anne had always been devout, chaste, and formal. * * * But King George the First loved pleasures, and was not delicate in the choice of them. No woman came amiss to him, if she were but very willing and very fat. He brought over with him two considerable samples of his bad taste and good stomach, the Duchess of Kendal and the Countess of Darlington; leaving at Hanover, because she happened to be a Papist, the Countess of Platen, whose weight and circumference was little inferior to theirs. These standards of his Majesty's taste made all those ladies who aspired to his favour, and who were near the Statutable size, strain and swell themselves, like the frogs in the fable, to rival the bulk and dignity of the ox. Some succeeded, and others burst. The Prince and Princess of Wales, from different motives, equally encouraged and promoted pleasures; he from having a mind to share them, she from policy and a desire of popularity. It cannot be wondered at, then, that pleasures pent up and in some measure incarcerated during two former reigns, should rush out with impetuosity in this; they did so *qua data porta*,* and every door was willingly open to them. Drawing-rooms every morning at the Princess's, and twice a week at night; crowded assemblies

* "*Qua data porta ruunt.*"—VIRG.

every night at some house or other; Balls, Masquerades, and Ridottos, not to mention plays and operas!

LADY SUFFOLK.

A Fragment.

(Now first printed.)

MRS. HOWARD (afterwards Countess of Suffolk) was of a good family of the Long Robe, the Hobarts. Her figure was above the middle size and well shaped. Her face was not beautiful, but pleasing. Her hair was extremely fair, and remarkably fine. Her arms were square and lean, that is, ugly. Her countenance was an undecided one, and announced neither good nor ill nature, neither sense nor the want of it, neither vivacity nor dulness. She had good natural sense, and not without art, but in her conversation dwelt tediously upon details and *minuties*. She had married herself very young, for love, to a most unamiable man, Mr. Howard, a younger brother of an Earl of Suffolk; he was sour, dull, and sullen. How she came to love him, or how he came to love anybody, is unaccountable, unless from a certain fatality which often makes hasty marriages, soon attended by long repentance and aversion. Thus they loved, thus they married, and thus they hated each other for the rest of their lives. Their small fortunes were soon spent, and they retired to Hanover, before that Succession took place. There they were well received, of course, as English; and she, as a well-bred, agreeable woman, was declared Bed-chamber Woman to the Princess, and attended the Princess to England in that character, and was lodged at Court.

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Mrs. Howard was now the unrivalled ostensible mistress. The Prince passed some hours every day alone with her in her lodgings, and walked with her publicly, *tête à tête* in the gardens of Richmond and St. James's. But I am persuaded that her private interviews with the Prince were (for the reasons above-mentioned) as innocent as to the main point as those between him and Mrs. Bellenden had been.

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Thus the affair went on without interruption a gentle travelling pace, till the Prince came to the Throne, and Mrs. Howard became Countess of Suffolk, by which titles I shall hereafter call them both. In the meantime the busy and speculative politicians of the anti-chambers, who know everything, but know everything wrong, naturally concluded, that a lady with whom the King passed so many hours every day must necessarily have some interest with him, and consequently applied to her. Her lodgings grew more and more frequented by busy faces, both of men and women. Solicitations surrounded her, which she did not reject, knowing that the opinion of having power often procures power. Nor did she promise to support them, conscious that she had not the power to do it. But she hesitated inclinations to serve, the difficulties of doing it, and all that trite cant of those who with power will not, and of those who without power cannot, grant the requested favours. To my knowledge she sincerely tried to serve some, but without effect; she could not even procure a place of 200*l.* a year for John Gay, a very poor and honest man, and no bad poet, only because he was a poet, which the King considered as a mechanic. The Queen had

taken good care that Lady Suffolk's apartment should not lead to power and favour, and from time to time made her feel her inferiority by hindering the King from going to her room for three or four days, representing it as the seat of a political faction.

LORD TOWNSHEND.

LORD TOWNSHEND, by very long experience and unwearied application, was certainly an able man of business, which was his only passion. His parts were neither above nor below it; they were rather slow, a defect of the safer side. He required time to form his opinion; but when formed, he adhered to it with invincible firmness, not to say obstinacy, whether right or wrong, and was impatient of contradiction.

He was a most ungraceful and confused speaker in the House of Lords, inelegant in his language, perplexed in his arguments, but always near the stress of the question.

His manners were coarse, rustic, and seemingly brutal, but his nature was by no means so; for he was a kind husband to both his wives, a most indulgent father to all his children, and a benevolent master to his servants, sure tests of real good-nature, for no man can long together simulate or dissimulate at home.

He was a warm friend and a warm enemy, defects, if defects they are, inseparable in human nature, and often accompanying the most generous minds.

Never minister had cleaner hands than he had. Mere domestic economy was his only care as to money.

for he did not add one acre to his estate, and left his younger children very moderately provided for, though he had been in considerable and lucrative employments near thirty years.

As he only loved power for the sake of power, in order to preserve it he was obliged to have a most unwarrantable complaisance for the interests and even dictates of the Electorate, which was the only way by which a British Minister could hold either favour or power during the reigns of King George the First and Second.

The coarseness and imperiousness of his manners made him disagreeable to Queen Caroline.

Lord Townshend was not of a temper to act a second part, after having acted a first, as he did during the reign of King George the First. He resolved therefore to make one convulsive struggle to revive his expiring power, or, if that did not succeed, to retire from business. He tried the experiment upon the King, with whom he had a personal interest. The experiment failed, as he might easily, and ought to have, foreseen. He retired to his seat in the country, and in a few years died of an apoplexy.

Having thus mentioned the slight defects, as well as the many valuable parts, of his character, I must declare that I owed the former to truth, and the latter to gratitude and friendship as well as to truth, since, for some years before he retired from business, we lived in the strictest intimacy that the difference of our age and situations could admit, during which time he gave me many unasked and unequivocal proofs of his friendship.

MR. POPE.

POPE in conversation was below himself; he was seldom easy and natural, and seemed afraid that the man should degrade the poet, which made him always attempt wit and humour, often unsuccessfully, and too often unseasonably. I have been with him a week at a time at his house at Twickenham, where I necessarily saw his mind in its undress, when he was both an agreeable and an instructive companion.

His moral character has been warmly attacked, and but weakly defended; the natural consequence of his shining turn to satire, of which many felt, and all feared, the smart. It must be owned, that he was the most irritable of all the *genus irritabile vatum*, offended with trifles, and never forgetting or forgiving them; but in this I really think, that the poet was more in fault than the man. He was as great an instance as any he quotes of the contrarieties and inconsistencies of human nature; for, notwithstanding the malignancy of his satires, and some blameable passages of his life, he was charitable to his power, active in doing good offices, and piously attentive to an old bed-ridden mother, who died but a little time before him. His poor, crazy, deformed body was a mere Pandora's Box, containing all the physical ills that ever afflicted humanity. This, perhaps, whetted the edge of his satire, and may in some degree excuse it.

I will say nothing of his works; they speak sufficiently for themselves; they will live as long as letters and taste shall remain in this country, and be more and more admired, as envy and resentment

shall subside. But I will venture this piece of classical blasphemy, which is, that, however, he may be supposed to be obliged to Horace, Horace is more obliged to him.

He was a Deist believing in a future state : this he has often owned himself to me ; but when he died he sacrificed a cock to Esculapius, and suffered the priests who got about him to perform all their absurd ceremonies on his body.

Having mentioned his being a Deist, I cannot forbear relating a singular anecdote, not quite foreign from the purpose. I went to him one morning at Twickenham, and found a large folio Bible, with gilt clasps, lying before him upon his table ; and as I knew his way of thinking upon that book, I asked him jocosely, If he was going to write an answer to it ? " It is a present," said he, " or rather a legacy, " from my old friend the Bishop of Rochester. I " went to take my leave of him yesterday in the Tower, " where I saw this Bible upon his table. After the " first compliments, the Bishop said to me, ' My friend " ' Pope, considering your infirmities, and my age and " ' exile, it is not likely we should ever meet again, " ' and therefore I give you this legacy to remember " ' me by. Take it home with you, and let me advise " ' you to abide by it.'—' Does your Lordship abide by " ' it yourself?'—' I do.'—' If you do, my Lord, it is " ' but lately. May I beg to know what new lights or " ' arguments have prevailed with you now, to enter- " ' tain an opinion so contrary to that which you en- " ' tertained of that book all the former part of your " ' life?' The Bishop replied, ' We have not time to " ' talk of these things ; but take home the book, I

“will abide by it, and I recommend to you to do so
 “too; and so God bless you.”*

Was this hypocrisy; was it the effect of illness, misfortunes, and disappointed views; or was it late, very late conviction? I will not take upon me even to conjecture. The mind of man is so variable, so different from itself in prosperity and adversity, in sickness and in health, in high or in low spirits, that I take the effects as I find them, without presuming to trace them up to their true and secret causes. I know, by not knowing even myself, how little I know of that good, that bad, that knowing, that ignorant, that reasoning and unreasonable creature, *Man*.

DR. ARBUTHNOT.

(Now first printed.)

DR. ARBUTHNOT was both my physician and my friend, and in both those capacities I justly placed the utmost confidence in him.

Without any of the craft, he had all the skill of his profession, which he exerted with the most care

* The Editor has not felt himself at liberty to omit this passage, although entertaining not only a strong doubt, but an utter disbelief, that the conversation between Pope and Atterbury, as reported by the former, ever really passed. To suspect one of our greatest theological writers,—one of the shining lights of our Church,—of concealed Deism during many years, is a charge so serious and so improbable as to be justified only by the most conclusive evidence. But here the evidence is only of the slightest texture. Besides the valid grounds against it quoted in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (art. ATTERBURY), what judicious critic would weigh in the balance even for a moment the veracity of Pope against the piety of Atterbury?

and pleasure upon those unfortunate patients, who could not give him a fee.

To great and various erudition, he joined an infinite fund of wit and humour, to which his friends Pope and Swift were more obliged, than they have acknowledged themselves to be.

His imagination was almost inexhaustible, and whatever subject he treated, or was consulted upon, he immediately overflowed with all that it could possibly produce. It was at any body's service, for as soon as he was exonerated, he did not care what became of it; insomuch, that his sons, when young, have frequently made kites of his scattered papers of hints, which would have furnished good matter for folios.

Not being in the least jealous of his fame as an author, he would neither take the time nor the trouble of separating the best from the worst; he worked out the whole mine, which afterwards, in the hands of skilful refiners, produced a rich vein of ore.

As his imagination was always at work, he was frequently absent and inattentive in company, which made him both say and do a thousand inoffensive absurdities; but which, far from being provoking, as they commonly are, supplied new matter for conversation, and occasioned wit, both in himself and others.

His social character was not more amiable than his moral character was pure and exemplary; charity, benevolence, and a love of mankind appeared unaffectedly in all he said or did. His letter to Pope against personal satire, published in the works of the latter, breathes in a most distinguished manner, that amiable spirit of humanity.

His good understanding could not get the better of

some prejudices of his education and country. For he was convinced that he had twice had the second sight, which in Scotch signifies a degree of nocturnal inspiration, but in English only a dream. He was also a Jacobite by prejudice, and a Republican by reflection and reasoning.

He indulged his palate to excess, I might have said to gluttony, which gave him a gross plethoric habit of body, that was the cause of his death.

He lived and died a devout and sincere Christian. Pope and I were with him the evening before he died, when he suffered racking pains from an inflammation in his bowels, but his head was clear to the last. He took leave of us with tenderness, without weakness, and told us that he died, not only with the comfort, but even the devout assurance, of a Christian.

By all those, who were not much acquainted with him, he was considered infinitely below his level; he put no price upon himself, and consequently went at an undervalue; for the world is complaisant or dupe enough, to give every man the price he sets upon himself, provided it be not insolently and overbearingly demanded. It turns upon the manner of asking.

LORD BOLINGBROKE.

It is impossible to find lights and shades strong enough to paint the character of Lord Bolingbroke, who was a most mortifying instance of the violence of human passions, and of the weakness of the most improved and exalted human reason. His virtues and his vices, his reason and his passions, did not blend

themselves by a gradation of tints, but formed a shining and sudden contrast.

Here the darkest, there the most splendid colours, and both rendered more striking from their proximity. Impetuosity, excess, and almost extravagancy, characterized not only his passions but even his senses. His youth was distinguished by all the tumult and storm of pleasures, in which he licentiously triumphed, disdaining all decorum. His fine imagination was often heated and exhausted with his body in celebrating and almost deifying the prostitute of the night; and his convivial joys were pushed to all the extravagancy of frantic Bacchanals. These passions were never interrupted but by a stronger, ambition. The former impaired both his constitution and his character; but the latter destroyed both his fortune and his reputation.

He engaged young, and distinguished himself in business. His penetration was almost intuition, and he adorned whatever subject he either spoke or wrote upon by the most splendid eloquence; not a studied or laboured eloquence, but by such a flowing happiness of diction, which (from care perhaps at first) was become so habitual to him, that even his most familiar conversations, if taken down in writing, would have borne the press, without the least correction, either as to method or style.

He had noble and generous sentiments, rather than fixed, reflected principles of good-nature and friendship; but they were more violent than lasting, and suddenly and often varied to their opposite extremes, with regard even to the same persons. He received the common attentions of civility as obligations, which

he returned with interest; and resented with passion the little inadvertencies of human nature, which he repaid with interest too. Even a difference of opinion upon a philosophical subject would provoke, and prove him no practical philosopher at least.

Notwithstanding the dissipation of his youth, and the tumultuous agitation of his middle age, he had an infinite fund of various and almost universal knowledge, which from the clearest and quickest conception, and the happiest memory that ever man was blessed with, he always carried about him. It was his pocket-money, and he never had occasion to draw upon a book for any sum. He excelled more particularly in history, as his historical works plainly prove. The relative political and commercial interests of every country in Europe, particularly of his own, were better known to him than perhaps to any man in it; but how steadily he pursued the latter in his public conduct, his enemies of all parties and denominations tell with pleasure.

During his long exile in France, he applied himself to study with his characteristical ardour; and there he formed, and chiefly executed, the plan of his great philosophical work. The common bounds of human knowledge were too narrow for his warm and aspiring imagination: he must go *extra flammantia mœnia mundi*, and explore the unknown and unknowable regions of metaphysics, which open an unbounded field for the excursions of an ardent imagination, where endless conjectures supply the defect of unattainable knowledge, and too often usurp both its name and its influence.

He had a very handsome person, with a most en-

gaging address in his air and manners; he had all the dignity and good-breeding which a man of quality should or can have, and which so few, in this country at least, really have.

He professed himself a Deist, believing in a general Providence, but doubting of, though by no means rejecting (as is commonly supposed) the immortality of the soul, and a future state.

He died of a cruel and shocking distemper, a cancer in his face, which he endured with firmness. A week before he died, I took my last leave of him with grief; and he returned me his last farewell with tenderness, and said, "God who placed me here, will do what he pleases with me hereafter; and he knows best what to do. May he bless you!"

Upon the whole of this extraordinary character, where good and ill were perpetually jostling each other, what can we say, but, alas! poor human nature!

MR. PULTENEY.

(WRITTEN IN 1763.)

MR. PULTENEY was formed by nature for social and convivial pleasures. Resentment made him engage in business. He had thought himself slighted by Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he publicly vowed not only revenge, but utter destruction. He had lively and shining parts, a surprising quickness of wit, and a happy turn to the most amusing and entertaining kinds of poetry, as epigrams, ballads, odes, &c.; in all which he had an uncommon facility. His compositions in that way were sometimes satirical, often licentious, but always full of wit.

He had a quick and clear conception of business, could equally detect and practise sophistry. He could state and explain the most intricate matters, even in figures, with the utmost perspicuity. His parts were rather above business; and the warmth of his imagination, joined to the impetuosity and restlessness of his temper, made him incapable of conducting it long together with prudence and steadiness.

He was a most complete orator and debater in the House of Commons: eloquent, entertaining, persuasive, strong, and pathetic, as occasion required; for he had arguments, wit, and tears, at his command. His breast was the seat of all those passions which degrade our nature, and disturb our reason. There they raged in perpetual conflict; but *avarice*, the meanest of them all, generally triumphed, ruled absolutely, and in many instances, which I forbear to mention, most scandalously.

His sudden passion was outrageous, but supported by great personal courage. Nothing exceeded his ambition but his avarice: they often accompany, and are frequently and reciprocally the causes and the effects of each other; but the latter is always a clog upon the former. He affected good nature and compassion, and perhaps his heart might feel the misfortunes and distresses of his fellow-creatures, but his hand was seldom or never stretched out to relieve them. Though he was an able actor of truth and sincerity, he could occasionally lay them aside, to serve the purposes of his ambition or avarice.

He was once in the greatest point of view that ever I saw any subject in. When the Opposition, of which he was the leader in the House of Commons, prevailed

at last against Sir Robert Walpole, he became the arbiter between the Crown and the people: the former imploring his protection, the latter his support. In that critical moment his various jarring passions were in the highest ferment, and for a while suspended his ruling one. Sense of shame made him hesitate at turning courtier on a sudden, after having acted the patriot so long, and with so much applause; and his pride made him declare that he would accept of no place, vainly imagining, that he could by such a simulated and temporary self-denial preserve his popularity with the public, and his power at Court. He was mistaken in both. The King hated him almost as much for what he might have done, as for what he had done; and a motley Ministry was formed, which by no means desired his company. The nation looked upon him as a deserter, and he shrunk into insignificance and an Earldom.

He made several attempts afterwards to retrieve the opportunity he had lost, but in vain; his situation would not allow it. He was fixed in the House of Lords, that hospital of incurables; and his retreat to popularity was cut off: for the confidence of the public, when once great and once lost, is never to be regained. He lived afterwards in retirement with the wretched comfort of Horace's miser:

*Populus me sibilat; at mihi plaudo
Ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemtor in arca.*

I may, perhaps, be suspected to have given too strong colouring to some features of this portrait; but I solemnly protest, that I have drawn it conscientiously, and to the best of my knowledge, from a very

long acquaintance with, and observation of, the original. Nay, I have rather softened than heightened the colouring.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I MUCH question, whether an impartial character of Sir Robert Walpole will or can be transmitted to posterity ; for he governed this kingdom so long, that the various passions of mankind mingled, and in a manner incorporated themselves, with everything that was said or written concerning him. Never was man more flattered, nor more abused ; and his long power was probably the chief cause of both. I was much acquainted with him both in his public and his private life. I mean to do impartial justice to his character ; and therefore my picture of him will, perhaps, be more like him, than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him.

In private life he was good-natured, cheerful, social ; inelegant in his manners, loose in his morals. He had a coarse, strong wit, which he was too free of for a man in his station, as it is always inconsistent with dignity. He was very able as a Minister, but without a certain elevation of mind necessary for great good, or great mischief. Profuse and appetent, his ambition was subservient to his desire of making a great fortune. He had more of the Mazarin than of the Richelieu. He would do mean things for profit, and never thought of doing great ones for glory.

He was both the best Parliament-man, and the ablest manager of Parliament, that I believe ever lived. An artful rather than an eloquent speaker ;

he saw, as by intuition, the disposition of the House, and pressed or receded accordingly. So clear in stating the most intricate matters, especially in the finances, that, whilst he was speaking, the most ignorant thought that they understood what they really did not. Money, not prerogative, was the chief engine of his administration; and he employed it with a success which in a manner disgraced humanity. He was not, it is true, the inventor of that shameful method of governing which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles II., but with uncommon skill and unbounded profusion he brought it to that perfection, which at this time dishonours and distresses this country, and which (if not checked, and God knows how it can be now checked) must ruin it.

Besides this powerful engine of government, he had a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men up to his purpose. A hearty kind of frankness, which sometimes seemed impudence, made people think that he let them into his secrets, whilst the impolitences of his manners seemed to attest his sincerity. When he found anybody proof against pecuniary temptations, which, alas! was but seldom, he had recourse to a still worse art; for he laughed at and ridiculed all notions of public virtue, and the love of one's country, calling them "the chimerical school-boy flights of classical learning;" declaring himself at the same time, "no saint, no Spartan, no reformer." He would frequently ask young fellows, at their first appearance in the world, while their honest hearts were yet untainted, "Well, are you to be an old Roman? a patriot? You will soon come off of that, and grow wiser." And thus he was more dan-

gerous to the morals than to the liberties of his country, to which I am persuaded he meant no ill in his heart.

He was the easy and profuse dupe of women, and in some instances indecently so. He was excessively open to flattery, even of the grossest kind, and from the coarsest bunglers of that vile profession; which engaged him to pass most of his leisure and jovial hours with people whose blasted characters reflected upon his own. He was loved by many, but respected by none; his familiar and illiberal mirth and raillery leaving him no dignity. He was not vindictive, but on the contrary very placable to those who had injured him the most. His good-humour, good-nature, and beneficence, in the several relations of father, husband, master, and friend, gained him the warmest affections of all within that circle.

His name will not be recorded in history among the "best men," or the "best Ministers;" but much less ought it to be ranked amongst the worst.

LORD GRANVILLE.

LORD GRANVILLE had great parts, and a most uncommon share of learning for a man of quality. He was one of the best speakers in the House of Lords, both in the declamatory and the argumentative way. He had a wonderful quickness and precision in seizing the stress of a question, which no art, no sophistry, could disguise to him. In business he was bold, enterprising, and overbearing. He had been bred up in high monarchical, that is, tyrannical prin-

ciples of government, which his ardent and imperious temper made him think were the only rational and practicable ones. He would have been a great first Minister in France, little inferior, perhaps, to Richelieu ; in this government, which is yet free, he would have been a dangerous one, little less so, perhaps, than Lord Strafford. He was neither ill-natured nor vindictive, and had a great contempt for money. His ideas were all above it. In social life he was an agreeable, good-humoured, and instructive companion ; a great but entertaining talker.

He degraded himself by the vice of drinking, which, together with a great stock of Greek and Latin, he brought away with him from Oxford, and retained and practised ever afterwards. By his own industry, he had made himself master of all the modern languages, and had acquired a great knowledge of the law. His political knowledge of the interest of Princes and of commerce was extensive, and his notions were just and great. His character may be summed up, in nice precision, quick decision, and unbounded presumption.

MR. PELHAM.

MR. PELHAM had good sense, without either shining parts or any degree of literature. He had by no means an elevated or enterprising genius, but had a more manly and steady resolution than his brother the Duke of Newcastle. He had a gentleman-like frankness in his behaviour, and as great a point of honour as a Minister can have, especially a Minister at the head of the Treasury, where numberless sturdily

and indefatigable beggars of condition apply, who cannot all be gratified, nor all with safety be refused.

He was a very inelegant speaker in Parliament, but spoke with a certain candour and openness that made him be well heard, and generally believed.

He wished well to the public, and managed the finances with great care and personal purity. He was *par negotiis neque supra*: had many domestic virtues and no vices. If his place, and the power that accompanies it, made him some public enemies, his behaviour in both secured him from personal and rancorous ones. Those who wished him worst, only wished themselves in his place.

Upon the whole, he was an honourable man, and a well-wishing Minister.

RICHARD, EARL OF SCARBOROUGH.

(WRITTEN IN AUGUST, 1759.)

IN drawing the character of Lord Scarborough, I will be strictly upon my guard against the partiality of that intimate and unreserved friendship, in which we lived for more than twenty years; to which friendship, as well as to the public notoriety of it, I owe much more than my pride will let my gratitude own. If this may be suspected to have biassed my judgment, it must, at the same time, be allowed to have informed it; for the most secret movements of his soul were, without disguise, communicated to me only. However, I will rather lower than heighten the colour-

ing; I will mark the shades, and draw a credible rather than an exact likeness.

He had a very good person, rather above the middle size; a handsome face, and when he was cheerful, the most engaging countenance imaginable; when grave, which was oftenest, the most respectable one. He had in the highest degree the air, manners, and address, of a man of quality, politeness with ease, and dignity without pride.

Bred in camps and Courts, it cannot be supposed that he was untainted with the fashionable vices of these warm climates; but (if I may be allowed the expression) he dignified them, instead of their degrading him into any mean or indecent action. He had a good degree of classical, and a great one of modern knowledge; with a just, and, at the same time, a delicate taste.

In his common expenses he was liberal within bounds; but in his charities and bounties he had none. I have known them put him to some present inconveniences.

He was a strong, but not an eloquent or florid speaker in Parliament. He spoke so unaffectedly the honest dictates of his heart, that truth and virtue, which never want, and seldom wear, ornaments, seemed only to borrow his voice. This gave such an astonishing weight to all he said, that he more than once carried an unwilling majority after him. Such is the authority of unsuspected virtue, that it will sometimes shame vice into decency at least.

He was not only offered, but pressed to accept, the post of Secretary of State; but he constantly refused it. I once tried to persuade him to accept it; but he

told me that both the natural warmth and melancholy of his temper made him unfit for it; and that moreover he knew very well that, in those Ministerial employments, the course of business made it necessary to do many hard things, and some unjust ones, which could only be authorized by the Jesuitical casuistry of the direction of the intention; a doctrine which he said he could not possibly adopt. Whether he was the first that ever made that objection, I cannot affirm; but I suspect that he will be the last.

He was a true, Constitutional, and yet practicable patriot; a sincere lover and a zealous assertor of the natural, the civil, and the religious rights of his country. But he would not quarrel with the Crown, for some slight stretches of the prerogative; nor with the people, for some unwary ebullitions of liberty; nor with any one, for a difference of opinion in speculative points. He considered the Constitution in the aggregate, and only watched that no one part of it should preponderate too much.

His moral character was so pure, that if one may say of that imperfect creature man, what a celebrated historian says of Scipio, *nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut fecit, aut sensit*, I sincerely think (I had almost said I know), one might say it with great truth of him, one single instance excepted, which shall be mentioned.

He joined to the noblest and strictest principles of honour and generosity the tenderest sentiments of benevolence and compassion; and as he was naturally warm, he could not even hear of an injustice or a baseness, without a sudden indignation; nor of the misfortunes or miseries of a fellow-creature, without melting into softness, and endeavouring to relieve them.

This part of his character was so universally known, that our best and most satirical English poet* says :

When I confess, there is who feels for fame,
And melts to goodness, need I Scarborough name?

He had not the least pride of birth and rank, that common narrow notion of little minds, that wretched mistaken *succedaneum* of merit ; but he was jealous to anxiety of his character, as all men are who deserve a good one. And such was his diffidence upon that subject, that he never could be persuaded that mankind really thought of him as they did. For surely never man had a higher reputation, and never man enjoyed a more universal esteem. Even knaves respected him ; and fools thought they loved him. If he had any enemies (for I protest I never knew one), they could only be such as were weary of always hearing of Aristides the Just.

He was too subject to sudden gusts of passion, but they never hurried him into any illiberal or indecent expression or action ; so invincibly habitual to him were good-nature and good-manners. But, if ever any word happened to fall from him in warmth, which upon subsequent reflection he himself thought too strong, he was never easy till he had made more than a sufficient atonement for it.

He had a most unfortunate, I will call it a most fatal, kind of melancholy in his nature, which often made him both absent and silent in company, but never morose or sour. At other times he was a cheerful and agreeable companion ; but, conscious that he was not always so, he avoided company too much, and

* Pope.

was too often alone, giving way to a train of gloomy reflections.

His constitution, which was never robust, broke rapidly at the latter end of his life. He had two severe strokes of apoplexy or palsy, which considerably affected his body and his mind. This, added to his natural melancholy, made him put an end to himself in the — year of his age.

I desire that this may not be looked upon as a full and finished character, writ for the sake of writing it; but as my solemn deposition of the truth to the best of my knowledge. I owed this small tribute of justice, such as it is, to the memory of the best man I ever knew, and of the dearest friend I ever had.

LORD HARDWICKE.

LORD HARDWICKE was, perhaps, the greatest magistrate that this country ever had. He presided in the Court of Chancery above twenty years, and in all that time none of his decrees were reversed, nor the justice of them ever questioned. Though avarice was his ruling passion, he was never in the least suspected of any kind of corruption: a rare and meritorious instance of virtue and self-denial, under the influence of such a craving, insatiable, and increasing passion.

He had great and clear parts; understood, loved, and cultivated the *Belles Lettres*. He was an agreeable, eloquent speaker in Parliament, but not without some little tincture of the pleader.

Men are apt to mistake, or at least to seem to mistake, their own talents, in hopes, perhaps, of mislead-

ing others to allow them that which they are conscious they do not possess. Thus Lord Hardwicke valued himself more upon being a great Minister of State, which he certainly was not, than upon being a great magistrate, which he certainly was.

All his notions were clear, but none of them great. Good order and domestic details were his proper department. The great and shining parts of government, though not above his parts to conceive, were above his timidity to undertake.

By great and lucrative employments, during the course of thirty years, and by still greater parsimony, he acquired an immense fortune, and established his numerous family in advantageous posts and profitable alliances.

Though he had been Solicitor and Attorney-General, he was by no means what is called a prerogative lawyer. He loved the Constitution, and maintained the just prerogative of the Crown, but without stretching it to the oppression of the people.

He was naturally humane, moderate, and decent; and when, by his former employments he was obliged to prosecute State Criminals, he discharged that duty in a very different manner from most of his predecessors, who were too justly called the "Bloodhounds of the Crown."

He was a cheerful and instructive companion, humane in his nature, decent in his manners, unstained with any vice (avarice excepted), a very great magistrate, but by no means a great Minister.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

(WRITTEN IN 1763.)

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE will be so often mentioned in the history of these times, and with so strong a bias, either for or against him, that I resolved, for the sake of truth, to draw his character with my usual impartiality: for as he had been a Minister for above forty years together, and in the last ten years of that period First Minister, he had full time to oblige one-half of the nation, and to offend the other.

We were contemporaries, near relations, and familiar acquaintances, sometimes well and sometimes ill together, according to the several variations of political affairs, which know no relations, friends, or acquaintances.

The public opinion put him below his level: for though he had no superior parts, or eminent talents, he had a most indefatigable industry, a perseverance, a Court craft, and a servile compliance with the will of his Sovereign for the time being; which qualities, with only a common share of common sense, will carry a man sooner and more safely through the dark labyrinths of a Court, than the most shining parts would do without those meaner talents.

He was good-natured to a degree of weakness, even to tears, upon the slightest occasions. Exceedingly timorous, both personally and politically, dreading the least innovation, and keeping with a scrupulous timidity in the beaten track of business as having the safest bottom.

I will mention one instance of this disposition,

which I think will set it in the strongest light. When I brought the Bill into the House of Lords, for correcting and amending the Calendar, I gave him previous notice of my intentions. He was alarmed at so bold an undertaking, and conjured me *not to stir matters* that had been long quiet; adding, that he did not love *new-fangled things*. I did not, however, yield to the cogency of these arguments, but brought in the Bill, and it passed unanimously. From such weaknesses it necessarily follows, that he could have no great ideas, nor elevation of mind.

His ruling, or rather his only, passion was, the agitation, the bustle, and the hurry of business, to which he had been accustomed above forty years; but he was as dilatory in dispatching it as he was eager to engage in it. He was always in a hurry, never walked, but always ran; insomuch that I have sometimes told him, that by his fleetness one should rather take him for the courier than the author of the letters.

He was as jealous of his power as an impotent lover of his mistress, without activity of mind enough to enjoy or exert it, but could not bear a share even in the appearances of it.

His levees were his pleasure, and his triumph; he loved to have them crowded, and consequently they were so. There he generally made people of business wait two or three hours in the ante-chamber, while he trifled away that time with some insignificant favourites in his closet. When at last he came into his levee-room, he accosted, hugged, embraced, and promised everybody, with a seeming cordiality, but at the same time with an illiberal and degrading familiarity.

He was exceedingly disinterested, very profuse of his own fortune, and abhorring all those means, too often used by persons in his station, either to gratify their avarice, or to supply their prodigality; for he retired from business in the year 1762, above four hundred thousand pounds poorer than when he first engaged in it.

Upon the whole, he was a compound of most human weaknesses, but untainted with any vice or crime.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD was more considerable for his rank and immense fortune, than for either his parts or his virtues.

He had rather more than a common share of common sense, but with a head so wrong-turned, and so invincibly obstinate, that the share of parts which he had was of little use to him, and very troublesome to others.

He was passionate, though obstinate; and, though both, was always governed by some low dependents, who had art enough to make him believe that he governed them.

His manners and address were exceedingly illiberal; he had neither the talent nor the desire of pleasing.

In speaking in the House, he had an inelegant flow of words, but not without some reasoning, matter, and method.

He had no amiable qualities; but he had no vicious

nor criminal ones: he was much below shining, but above contempt in any character.

In short, he was a Duke of a respectable family, and with a very great estate.

MR. HENRY FOX.

MR. HENRY FOX was a younger brother of the lowest extraction. His father, Sir Stephen Fox, made a considerable fortune, somehow or other, and left him a fair younger brother's portion, which he soon spent in the common vices of youth, gaming included: this obliged him to travel for some time. While abroad, he met with a very salacious English woman, whose liberality retrieved his fortune, with several circumstances more to the honour of his vigour than his morals.

When he returned, though by education a Jacobite, he attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole, and was one of his ablest *élèves*. He had no fixed principles either of religion or morality, and was too unwary in ridiculing and exposing them.

He had very great abilities and indefatigable industry in business, great skill in managing, that is, in corrupting the House of Commons, and a wonderful dexterity in attaching individuals to himself. He promoted, encouraged, and practised their vices; he gratified their avarice, or supplied their profusion. He wisely and punctually performed whatever he promised, and most liberally rewarded their attachment and dependence. By these and all other means

that can be imagined, he made himself many personal friends and political dependents.

He was a most disagreeable speaker in Parliament, inelegant in his language, hesitating and ungraceful in his elocution, but skilful in discerning the temper of the House, and in knowing when and how to press, or to yield.

A constant good-humour and seeming frankness made him a welcome companion in social life, and in all domestic relations he was good-natured. As he advanced in life, his ambition became subservient to his avarice. His early profusion and dissipation had made him feel the many inconveniences of want, and, as it often happens, carried him to the contrary and worse extreme of corruption and rapine. *Rem, quocunque modo rem*, became his maxim, which he observed (I will not say religiously and scrupulously), but invariably and shamefully.

He had not the least notion of, or regard for, the public good or the Constitution, but despised those cares as the objects of narrow minds, or the pretences of interested ones: and he lived, as Brutus died, calling virtue only a name.

MR. PITT.

(WRITTEN IN 1762.)

MR. PITT owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom singly to his own abilities. In him they supplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter in others too often supply the

want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune only an annuity of one hundred pounds a-year.

The army was his original destination, and a Cornetcy of Horse his first and only commission in it. Thus unassisted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector to introduce him into business, and (if I may use that expression) to do the honours of his parts; but their own strength was fully sufficient.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbad him the idle dissipations, of youth; for so early as at the age of sixteen he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure, which that tedious and painful distemper either procured or allowed him, in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. Thus, by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects, what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life was, perhaps, the principal cause of its splendour.

His private life was stained by no vices, nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities, and crowned with great success, make what the world calls "a great man." He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and over-bearing: qualities which too often accompany, but always clog great ones.

He had manners and address; but one might discern through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents. He was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life, and had such a versatility of wit, that he could adapt it to all sorts of con-

versation. He had also a most happy turn to poetry, but he seldom indulged and seldomer avowed it.

He came young into Parliament, and upon that great theatre soon equalled the oldest and the ablest actors. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative as well as in the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and stern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him.* Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs.

In that assembly, where the public good is so much talked of, and private interest singly pursued, he set out with acting the patriot, and performed that part so nobly, that he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather only, unsuspected champion.

The weight of his popularity, and his universally acknowledged abilities, obtruded him upon King George the Second, to whom he was personally obnoxious. He was made Secretary of State: in this difficult and delicate situation, which one would have thought must have reduced either the patriot or the Minister to a decisive option, he managed with such ability, that, while he served the King more effectually, in his most unwarrantable Electoral views, than any former Minister, however willing, had dared to do, he still preserved all his credit and popularity with the public; whom he assured and convinced, that the protection and defence of Hanover, with an army of

* "Hume Campbell, and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield." Note by Lord Chesterfield.

seventy-five thousand men in British pay, was the only possible method of securing our possessions or acquisitions in North America. So much easier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind!

His known disinterestedness, and even contempt of money, smoothed his way to power, and prevented or silenced a great share of that envy which commonly attends it. Most men think that they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities to make the proper use of them; but not very many of them have the impudence to think themselves qualified for power.

Upon the whole, he will make a great and shining figure in the annals of this country, notwithstanding the blot which his acceptance of three thousand pounds *per annum* pension for three lives, on his voluntary resignation of the Seals in the first year of the present King, must make in his character, especially as to the disinterested part of it. However, it must be acknowledged, that he had those qualities which none but a great man can have, with a mixture of those failings which are the common lot of wretched and imperfect human nature.

LORD BUTE

(WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS ADMINISTRATION).

WRITTEN IN 1764.

THE EARL OF BUTE was of an ancient family in Scotland. His name was Stuart, he called himself a descendant of that Royal House, and was humble enough to be proud of it. He was by his mother's side, nephew to John and Archibald, Dukes of Ar-

gyle. He married the daughter of Wortley Montague, by Lady Mary Pierrepont, eminent for her parts and her vices. It was a runaway love match, notwithstanding which, they lived very happily together: she proved a very good wife, and did in no way *matrizare*. He proved a *great husband*, and had thirteen or fourteen children successively by her, in as little time as was absolutely necessary for their being got and born, though he married her without a shilling, and without a reasonable probability of her ever having two, for she had a brother, who is still alive. She proved an immense fortune by the death of her father and mother, who, disinheriting their son, left her five or six hundred thousand pounds. Lord Bute and she had lived eight or nine years in a frugal and prudent manner, in the Island of Bute, which was entirely his own property, and but a little south of Nova Zembla; there he applied himself to the study of agriculture, botany and architecture, the employments rather of an industrious than of an elevated mind. From thence he came to town, five or six years before the death of the late Frederick Prince of Wales, to whom he wholly attached himself. He soon got to be at the head of the pleasures of that little, idle, frivolous and dissipated Court. He was the *Intendant* of balls, the *Coryphæus* of plays, in which he acted himself, and so grew into a sort of a favourite of that merry Prince. The Scandalous Chronicle says, that he was still a greater favourite of the Princess of Wales: I will not, nor cannot decide upon that fact. It is certain on one hand, that there were many very strong indications of the tenderest connection between them; but on the

other hand, when one considers how deceitful appearances often are in those affairs, the capriciousness and inconsistency of women, which make them often be unjustly suspected; and the improbability of knowing exactly what passes in *tête-à-têtes*, one is reduced to mere conjectures. Those who have been conversant in that sort of business, will be sensible of the truth of this reflection. When Frederick Prince of Wales died, and the present King George the Third became immediate Heir to the Crown, Lord Bute very prudently attached himself wholly to him, not only with the approbation, but I believe, at the request, of the Princess Dowager. In this he succeeded beyond his most sanguine wishes. He entirely engrossed not only the affections, but even the senses of the young Prince, who seemed to have made a total surrender of them all to Lord Bute. In this interval, between the death of the Princess of Wales and the expected death of King George the Second, the Princess Dowager and Lord Bute agreed to keep the young Prince entirely to themselves; none but their immediate and lowest creatures were suffered to approach him except at his levees, where none are seen as they are; he saw nobody, and nobody saw him: Lord Bute, indeed, was with him alone some hours every day, to instruct him, as he pretended, in the art of Government; but whether or no any man labours to instruct and inform the Prince whom he means one day to govern is with me a very doubtful point.

At length the wished for day came, and the death of King George the Second made room for King George the Third. He, like a new Sultan, was lugged out of the Seraglio by the Princess and Lord Bute,

and placed upon the Throne. Here the new scene opened: Lord Bute arrived from the greatest favour to the highest power and took no care to dissemble or soften either, in the eyes of the public, who always look upon them with envy and malignity; but on the contrary, avowed them both openly. He interfered in every thing, disposed of every thing, and undertook every thing, much too soon for his inexperience in business, and for at best his systematic notions of it, which are seldom or never reducible to practice. I would not be understood by this to blame Lord Bute, no; I lay the blame more justly upon human nature. Let us consider him as a private man, of a very small patrimonial estate, passing the greatest part of his life in silence and obscurity, never engaged in any business, and little practised in the ways and characters of men, at once raised to the highest pitch of favour and power, and governing three kingdoms; and then say whose head would not turn with so sudden and universal a change? Every man who is new in business, is at first either too rash or too timorous; but he was both. He undertook what he feared to execute, and what consequently he executed ill. His intentions for the King and the Public were certainly honest and Constitutional, as appeared by the three first acts of his administration, which were, inducing the King to demand a certain rent-charge for his Civil List, so that the public might know with certainty what he received, which was not the case in the former reign; his endeavouring to extinguish the odious names of Whigs and Tories, by taking off the proscription under which the latter, who are at least one-half of the nation, had too long and too unjustly groaned; and

lastly, by procuring an Act of Parliament to make the places of the Judges for life, notwithstanding the demise of the Crown. But these right and popular acts availed him nothing, and that chiefly because he had the power of doing them; the popular run was strong against him, which was artfully fomented by the Ministers of the former reign, whom he had either displaced, or at least stripped of their power. If ever the multitude deviate into the right, it is always for the wrong reason, as appeared upon this occasion; for the great cry against Lord Bute was upon account of his being a Scotchman, the only fault which he could not possibly correct. When the King came to the Crown he was his Groom of the Stole, and would have done more prudently if he had continued some time in that post; but he was too impatient to shine in the full meridian of his power. He made himself immediately Secretary of State, Knight of the Garter and Privy Purse: he gave an English Peerage to his wife; and the reversion of a very lucrative employment for life, to his eldest son. He placed and displaced whom he pleased; gave peerages without number, and pensions without bounds; by these means he proposed to make his ground secure for the permanency of his power; for his favour he did not doubt of, nor had he the least reason; but unfortunately for him, he had made no personal friends: this was partly owing to his natural temper, which was dry, unconciliatory and sullen, with great mixture of pride. He never looked at those he spoke to, or who spoke to him, a great fault in a Minister, as in the general opinion of mankind it implies conscious guilt; besides that, if it hinders him from being penetrated, it

equally hinders him from penetrating others. The subaltern Ministers whom he employed under him, particularly in the management of the House of Commons, were most of them incapable of serving him, and the others unwilling to do it. No man living had his entire confidence; and no man thinks himself bound by a half confidence. He opened his administration with negotiating or rather asking a peace of France; and said imprudently enough to many people, *that he would make one.*

I believe he was conscious, notwithstanding his presumption, that he was not capable of carrying on the war, in the manner in which it had been carried on of late; and that his credit was so low, and the popularity so strong against him, especially in the City, that he should not be able to raise the extraordinary supplies necessary for the continuance of it; accordingly he addressed himself to Comte Viry, the dextrous and subtle Minister of the King of Sardinia, residing here. This Viry had sagacity enough to attach himself strongly to Lord Bute, for the three or four last years of the late reign, upon the appearances of his favour with the Prince of Wales, and the certainty of the late King's advanced age; or, to express myself in the mercantile way, he dealt with Lord Bute upon speculation. He applied to Comte Viry to hint to the Court of France an opening for a peace, which he did by the means of the Bailli de Solar, the Sardinian Minister at Paris. These hints were as gladly received at the French Court as they were precipitately made from ours. The great outlines were soon agreed upon, under the sole direction of Comte Viry, with the participation of his Court, for Lord

Bute was wholly ignorant of negotiations and foreign affairs. When the matter was so far prepared as to take a shape, he sent the Duke of Bedford to Paris to lick it, and he chose right for his purpose. His Grace had previously declared that he was for any peace rather than the continuation of the war, to which, perhaps, he was induced by the probable reduction of the Land Tax in consequence of it; in this disposition he went Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Versailles, where he very soon signed the Preliminaries; but in so loose, incorrect, and disputable a manner, that the negotiating the definitive Treaty took up more time to dress, so that it might appear with some decency in the world, than the settling of all the Preliminaries had done. I must observe by the way, that the Duke of Bedford, with natural good sense, had the wrongest, and the most obstinate head in the world, for the time being, though changeable, as violent and strong passions severally predominated; or as inflamed without knowing it, by his wife. He was bold from passion, blind from ignorance, impenetrable to argument, but very governable by his humour.

When the peace was thus *taliter qualiter* concluded, Lord Bute thought himself firmly established: he got it approved of by a great majority in both Houses. In the House of Lords he himself triumphed in the share which he owned he had in it, and imprudently and theatrically declared, that he desired no more glorious epitaph to be engraved on his tomb-stone. But the peace gave him not the strength he expected; on the contrary, it added to the mass of his unpopularity. The nation universally condemned it, not

upon knowledge, but because it was made by a favourite, and a Scotchman, two inexpressible sins in the opinion, or rather in the humour, of an English multitude. The truth is, that the peace was not so bad as it was represented by some, and believed by most people; nor was it so good as it ought to have been, and certainly might have been, if more time and better abilities had been employed in negotiating it. It must be allowed to have been inadequate to our successes in the war; and, in my opinion, the whole cast and shape of it were wrong.

In the mean time, Lord Bute had placed himself at the head of the Treasury, from whence he had shoved the Duke of Newcastle, as he had also Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, from their posts of Secretary of State and Privy Seal; and had formed a Ministry of his own creation, but without placing any real confidence in them, or they in him. He placed, displaced, and shifted the places of his subalterns, without selecting or trusting those who were the fittest for them. He placed Mr. Fox, whom he both hated and distrusted, at the head of the House of Commons. He was both able and experienced in that business, but knew very well that he owed that preference to Lord Bute's necessity, and not to his choice; on the other hand, Lord Bute feared Mr. Fox's ability, and remembered the fable of the Horse and the Man; therefore, though he had seemingly trusted him with the management of the House of Commons, his real confidence was placed in some of his inferior and insufficient creatures, those who occasionally opposed Mr. Fox. This disgusted Mr. Fox so much, that at the end of the Session he insisted upon going into the House of Lords, which

Lord Bute most willingly agreed to. In that same Session, amongst the Ways and Means to raise the supplies of the year, an excise was laid upon cyder: though the thing was right, the name was odious; and Lord Bute, if he had had more experience, and known the temper of the people, would have known, that even right things cannot be done at all times, especially at that dawn of his administration. This scheme was imputed wholly to him, and filled the measure of his unpopularity. He was burnt in effigy in all the cyder counties; hissed and insulted in the streets of London. It is natural to suppose, and it is undoubtedly true, that the Opposition, which consisted in general of persons of the greatest rank, property, and experience in business, enjoyed, encouraged, and increased this unpopularity to the utmost of their power; and accordingly it was carried to an alarming height. Lord Bute, who had hitherto appeared a presumptuous, now appeared to be a very timorous Minister, characters by no means inconsistent; for he went about the streets timidly and disgracefully, attended at a small distance by a gang of *bruisers*, who are the scoundrels and ruffians that attend the Bear Gardens, and who would have been but a poor security to him against the dangers he apprehended from the whole town of London.

In this odd situation, unpopular without guilt, fearing without danger, presumptuous without resolution, and proud without being respectable, or respected, he on a sudden, and to the universal surprise of the public, quitted his post of First Commissioner of the Treasury, and pretended to retire for ever from business, and enjoy the comforts of private and social life;

but he neither intended to quit his real power nor personal favour with the King, which he was in all events secure of; and proposed to rule, as it is commonly called, behind the curtain. Accordingly he delegated his Ministry, but without his power, to Mr. Grenville, his successor in the Treasury, who talked over business very copiously, but with great inutility in the dispatch of it; to Lord Egremont, Secretary of State, who was proud, self-sufficient, but incapable; and to Lord Halifax, the other Secretary of State, who had parts, application, and personal disinterestedness. These were called the Triumvirate; and Lord Bute declared, that the King had placed his administration wholly in their hands: they thought so themselves for a time, because they wished it, but the public never thought so, one moment; and looked still at Lord Bute through the curtain, which indeed was a very transparent one. The Triumvirate at length discovered this themselves, for they met at every turn with Lord Bute's influence in the Closet, which always prevailed over theirs. They grumbled, then openly mutinied, and came to several *éclaircissemens*, both with the King and Lord Bute, and received satisfactory verbal assurance from both. In this awkward situation Lord Bute found himself extremely embarrassed; he had exasperated the Opposition irreconcilably, as he thought, without reflecting that there are *certa piacula* in the power of the favourite in the Closet, which will sometimes soften the most hard-hearted patriots: he found, as Louis the Fourteenth once said, that he had made

Quelques ingrats et plusieurs mécontents,

To which I will add, and not one friend of consequence, except the King, who must of necessity be, what too many people by choice are, a friend in prosperity only. Upon this he thought it necessary to let the visible marks of his influence subside for some time; and as a pledge of it, both to the Ministers and to the public, resigned his place of Privy Purse, left the King, *invitus invitum*, and retired to a purchase he had lately made in Bedfordshire.

In the mean time, Lord Egremont died, and Lord Sandwich succeeded to the vacancy in the Triumvirate, as a second Anthony, for he was of a most profligate abandoned character, but with good abilities. Lord Bute, though retired from business and power, as abovementioned, yet, whether from a weariness of his affected retirement and obscurity, whether from a fear of Parliamentary prosecutions with which the Opposition had threatened him; whether from a desire of acting again a considerable part upon the Court stage, or whether from resentment against the Triumvirate, of whose ingratitude and treachery he complained; whether from any, or perhaps from all these notions united, I will not pretend to determine; but the fact is, that he took a most extraordinary and unexpected step: he went directly to Mr. Pitt, who was at the head of the Opposition, and much the best head amongst them, and proposed to him at once to take in the Opposition, whether the whole, or the most considerable part of it, I do not know; but however that was, it is certain they agreed upon these terms: The Triumvirate themselves were proscribed, Mr. Pitt and his friends were to succeed them, and Lord Bute was not only promised impunity, but probably a share in

the administration. This being provisionally agreed upon, in the evening, on Thursday, Mr. Pitt was ordered to attend the King in private, on the Saturday morning following; he did so; and after an audience of above two hours, came out of the Closet well satisfied, and looked upon the whole affair as concluded, and the Monday morning following, a second audience was appointed for the ratification; but instead of that, the second audience broke off the whole thing, and Mr. Pitt went immediately to his country-house. The particulars of what passed at either, or both of these audiences, I am sure I do not know, though everybody else does to a tittle. But in my opinion, these political *tête-à-têtes*, like amorous ones, *à huis clos*, leave room only for conjectures, but none for certainty; and the performers only are able to tell, what, by the way, they never do tell, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Mr. Pitt's friends assert, that the King had agreed to everything Mr. Pitt had proposed on the Saturday, and refused everything on the Monday; on the contrary, the Ministers assert that Mr. Pitt raised his demands so exorbitantly on the Monday, that the King could not possibly agree to them without, in some degree, resigning his Crown and dignity into Mr. Pitt's hands: which of these assertions are true? In my opinion neither. I will hazard my conjecture, but merely, and with humble doubt as a conjecture: I think then, that Lord Bute, from some, or collectively from all the abovementioned motives, had subscribed to all Mr. Pitt's demands, and obtained his own, in their first conference on the Thursday, and had engaged to Mr. Pitt that the King should agree to them on the Saturday following; but

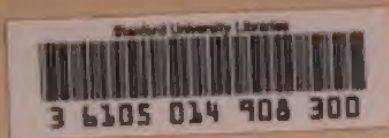
I do not believe that Lord Bute opened the full extent of Mr. Pitt's demands to the King, unwilling perhaps to own at first, that he himself had gone so far, and hoping that, since he had brought the King into Mr. Pitt's plan in general, he would not object to any particulars of it when they should break out afterwards. Perhaps too, Mr. Pitt thought it prudent not to mention in the first audience, those parts of his scheme which he thought might be the most disagreeable, trusting, like Lord Bute, that when the King had gone so far, he would not break off. And I do believe, that in the second audience on the Monday, when Mr. Pitt was to speak out, his demands were so strong, that he gave the King a reason, or at least a pretence, to refuse them. But, it may be asked, was Lord Bute the author and adviser of defeating his own plan? I think it very possible, considering the unsteadiness and timidity of his character, that to some degree he was. Might he not fear, considering the imperious character of Mr. Pitt, he had gone too far with him, and given him such a power as a Minister, that he, as a favourite, should not be able either to check or control? And might he not, upon consideration, have advised the King privately, to reject some of the strongest conditions, not doubting but Mr. Pitt would willingly compound rather than break off?

Whatever was the truth of the case, the negotiation, though broke off, had this effect with regard to Lord Bute, that it exasperated the Ministers against him to the last degree, who had discovered that they were all proscribed by this secret and abortive Treaty; and with regard to Mr. Pitt, it diminished his popularity, from a supposition, and perhaps not a groundless one,

that he had promised not only impunity and protection, but some share of power to Lord Bute. Some have thought that the Princess of Wales, an ambitious and busy woman, without parts, and with an appearance of cold insensibility, had the chief hand in breaking off this negotiation, but I am of a contrary opinion; for her connection with Lord Bute, be it founded upon whatever it will, is too strong to allow her to act differently from him; and if she did break it off, it would have been in concert with him. Upon the motives which I have above hinted at, in this situation things are at present. The Ministers triumph in the plenitude, and as they boast, permanency of their power. Lord Bute does not appear, but is withdrawn to the silence and obscurity of his country-house. However, I cannot help conjecturing, that he and Mr. Pitt are secretly united, for the time being at least, but by no means *irruptâ copulâ*, and that they have some mines to spring, which, to borrow the expression of news-writers and cautious politicians, time will discover.

From the foregoing account of Lord Bute's meridian lustre and present eclipse, his character will sufficiently appear to any discerning reader; and therefore, I will only sum it up in a very few words. He had honour, honesty, and good intentions. He was too proud to be respectable or respected; too cold and silent to be amiable; too cunning to have great abilities; and his inexperience made him too precipitately undertake what it disabled him from executing.





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